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A
COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY
OF THE
WOOLLEN AND WORSTED
MANUFACTURES
AND THE
NATURAL AND COMMERCIAL HISTORY
OF
SHEEP,

FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

BY JAMES BISCHOFF ESQ.

"These' all the brute creation, none as sheep
To lordly man, each ample tribute pay.
For him their odours yield nectarous streams,
For him their downy ventures they resign,
For him they spread the fleece." *Dyer's Flere.*

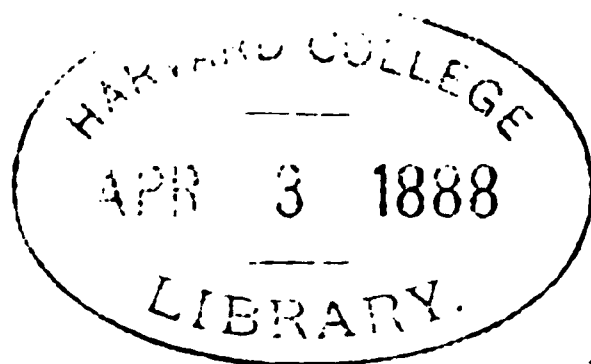
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I, II.)

TO THE MERCHANTS, MANUFACTURERS,
WOOL MERCHANTS,
AND OTHERS INTERESTED IN THE WOOLLEN AND WORSTED
MANUFACTURES.

THE chief part of this work was compiled solely as a record, to be deposited in manuscript in two or three public libraries; but, having been requested, in a manner I could not refuse, to give it publicity, it is sent to make its way in the world.

In a book of reference, intended to be useful to you and to your successors, it became important to omit nothing which might be hereafter required; but, by thus dwelling upon details, it is obvious that the book becomes less interesting to the general reader. I have, however, thought it right to run this risk; and in order to make it more acceptable, other matter has been introduced.

In carrying out the object in view, I have met with the kindest and most liberal assistance: the names of some friends, to whom I am indebted, are mentioned in the preface; but, in the farther prosecution of this publication, it became necessary to obtain more general information.

Desirous of making large extracts from that very able work, "Youatt on Sheep, their Breeds, Management, and Diseases,"* I requested permission for that purpose, from the Committee of the Society for the

* Published by Baldwin and Cradock, 1838.

Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, who, with a liberality in perfect accordance with the great and praiseworthy objects of that valuable and useful institution, left the book in my hands to be used in any way I might think proper, and it will be seen that I have availed myself largely of their kindness.

Observing a very excellent and concise article on the Woollen and Worsted Manufactures in the volume of the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, published last September—a work which, in the extent and practical value of its information on all subjects, is certainly the first of its class—I applied to Messrs. Adam and Charles Black, of Edinburgh, for permission to avail myself of information therein given, and which was responded to in the most liberal manner.

Considerable interest having lately existed respecting the production of sheep's wool in the East Indies, and particularly in the, at present, most distracted and unhappy districts of Cabool and the Himalayan Mountains, I applied for information to the Right Honourable Sir Alexander Johnstone, Chairman of the Royal Asiatic Society of Literature: by him I was most kindly referred to an able work on the “*Productive Resources of India*,”* by Dr. Royle, who has allowed me to make extracts; and I was also permitted to have access to the Library and Museum of that Institution, to see the communications made by the much lamented and highly talented Sir Alexander Burnes, who has so lately fallen a victim to treachery, and also the works of Marco Polo, Moorcroft, and others.

* Published by W. H. Allen and Co., 1840.

I have besides received much new and valuable information on this subject from Major Kennedy, formerly political agent in the country of the Himalaya, and from George William Traill, Esq., who resided there many years, and whose communications will be read with great interest; and I am greatly indebted to Thos. Southey, Esq., for his reports on the qualities of East India and other wools.

To William Walton, Esq. and William Danson, Esq. I am obliged for information respecting the Alpaca, and for being permitted to insert the portrait of that beautiful animal which was in Mr. Walton's work.*

With respect to Anglo-merino sheep, I have been favoured with a letter addressed by Lord Western to Earl Spencer, and I have been also honoured with a letter addressed to me by Lord Western,† whose great and unwearied exertions to improve that breed of sheep, rendering the wool adapted for the fine worsted trade, and the carcase more valuable, are so well known; and I am indebted to his Lordship for the beautiful engravings of a group of his Anglo-merino sheep and his Anglo-merino horned ram.

For statistical information, and the means of completing the tables in the Appendix, I am obliged to G. R. Porter, Esq., of the Board of Trade, whose labours and works in that department are so well known and so highly appreciated; and upon the same subject I have derived information from Jelinger C. Symons, Esq.

Valuable communications have been also made to me by several relations and kind friends.

* Published by Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co.

† Published by Messrs. Ridgway, and Smith, Elder and Co

CONTENTS

OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTION.

ON ANCIENT MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.

Earliest mention of Wool—Earliest Manufacture—Earliest Clothing—Coats of Skin, Tunic, Simla—Warp and Woof—Woollen and Linen Manufacture—Advance in Manufactures and Arts—Tents of Goats' Hair—Variety of Colour—Dyeing : the words "of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet," mean Woollens of these Colours—The Breed of Sheep—The fat-tailed Sheep, description of—Dean Prideaux's Account of the trade of Tyre—Ancient Commerce of the East—The Trade of Kings David and Solomon with Ophir and Tarshish ; the immense wealth derived from them—The History of the Trade to the present Time—Palmyra, its Trade—Silk—Professor Millar's Account of the Trade of the Continent, and the Introduction and Establishment of the Woollen Manufacture in Great Britain.

CHAPTER I.

ABRIDGMENT OF SMITH'S MEMOIRS OF WOOL : FROM THE CREATION OF THE WORLD TO THE REIGN OF RICHARD I.

Sheep's Wool Manufacture mentioned in the Old Testament—Huetius's History—First mention in England—Sheep in Edgar's Reign—From Richard I. to Edward VI.—Merchants of the Staple—Cloth made in England before 1224—Customs on Woollen and Worsted Exported—Jack of Newberry—Extension of Manufacture—Merchant Adventurers—From Edward VI. to 1568—Forced Reduction of Rents and of the Prices of Wool—Wide Spread of the Woollen Manufacture—Blackwell Hall—Corporation of German Merchant Adventurers—From 1568 to Queen Elizabeth—French and Flemish Refugees—From James I. to William and Mary—Cockayne's Patent—Exportation of Wool prohibited—Spanish Wool—Sir Josiah Child—Woollen Manufacture on the Continent—From William and Mary to the end of King William's Reign—East India Company, from 1702 to 1755—Woollen Exports—1718 to 1724—1738 to 1743—1744 to 1753.

CHAPTER II.

PREVIOUS TO THE YEAR 1750.

Irish Pamphlets—Smuggling Wool from Ireland to England—Ports in England for Importation—Penalties for Smuggling—Woollen Manufacture discouraged in Ireland—Thoughts on a Bill in the House of Lords—Distinction between Colonies for Trade and Colonies for Empire—The Grazier's Complaint—The Rents of Ireland spent in London—Wool of England sufficient for its Wants

11

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—Increase of Inclosures and Tillage Land—Increased Number of Sheep—Consequences of importing Wool from Ireland—Rents and Cost of Living in Ireland—The Wool equal to Half the Rentals—Comparison between English and Irish Farms—Lincolnshire—Number of Acres—Number of Sheep—Quantity of Wool—Number of Parishes—Rents in South Britain—Persons employed in the Woollen Manufacture—Persons employed in the Growth of Wool—*Excidium Anglicæ*—The Effects of Smuggling Wool—Superior Quality of English Wool—Comparison with various Foreign Wools—Thoughts on the Woollen Manufacture of England—Observations on the present State of Ireland and the Woollen Manufacture—Remarks on the English Woollen Manufacture, and preventing the Export of Irish Wool—A Scheme to prevent the Running of Irish Wool and Woollens, by prohibiting the Importation of Spanish Wool into Ireland—Labour employed in making Cloth—Calculation of Time and Cost, and Division of Labour in making Cloth—Comparison of Labour in working Spanish and Irish Wool—Cost of Subsistence in Ireland—Reduced Growth of Wool in Ireland—Computation of Woollen Manufacture of Ireland—Wool and Woollen Yarn imported into England from Ireland—French Manufactures dependant on Irish Wool—State of Trade in Ireland—Effect of Restrictions on the Price of Horses and Cattle in Ireland—Origin and Rise of the Provision Trade in Ireland—Effect of Restrictions on the Woollen Manufactures of Ireland—True Principles of Commerce.

CHAPTER III.

FROM 1752 TO 1757.

Petitions to Parliament on branding Sheep with Pitch and Tar, and on false and deceitful winding of Fleeces—The names of Towns and Districts from which Petitions were sent, showing where the Woollen Manufacture was carried on in England—Witnesses examined—Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons—A Review of the Manufacturers' Complaints against the Wool Growers, in Two Pamphlets, by Smith, Compiler of the *Memoirs of Wool*—*Memoires sur les Laines*—The Fleece, by J. Dyer—Breeds of Sheep suited to various Soils and Climates—On the Process of Sorting Wool—Wools adapted to different Purposes—On exportation of British Wools—Smuggling of Wool—Process of the Woollen Manufacture—Improvement in Spinning—Spinning Machines—Weaving—Fulling—Factories first erected for the Employment of Parochial Poor—Paul's Spinning Machine—The Manufacturing Towns and Villages in Yorkshire—Foreign Trade in Woollens.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE YEAR 1765 TO 1790.

Inspectors appointed at Pulling Mills—Register of Cloth Milled—Act to prevent Entailment of Yarn and Wool—Superiority of English Woollen Manufacture—Lord Sheffield's Observations thereon—Improvements in Machinery—Riots in the West of England—Committee of Manufacturers, to prevent Frauds in the Worsted Trade—Value of Woollen Goods from 1772 to 1776—Consideration of the present system of Laws respecting Wool, by Thomas Pownall, Esq. M. P. Proceedings of Deputies from Manufacturing Towns—Poor Rates at Norwich, 1764 to 1773—Exeter—Mr. Wolrich's Estimate of Woollen Manufactures in Yorkshire—Calculations and Correspondence, &c.—Pownall on the Exportation of Wool—Meetings respecting the Exporta-

tion of Wool—Glover's Letters on the Exportation of Wool—General Meeting of Wool Growers in Lincolnshire—Meetings at Leeds—Meeting of Delegates in London—Meetings in Yorkshire and Huntingdonshire—Description and Use of Long Wool—The Question Considered, by Sir John Dalrymple, Bart.—Reflection on the low Price of coarse Wool, by Dean Tucker—An Answer to Sir John Dalrymple, by Nathan Forster, D.D.—The Contrast : a Comparison between the Woollen, Silk, and Linen Manufactures—An Answer to Sir John Dalrymple, by "A Plain Matter of Fact Man"—Plain Reasons, in answer to Sir John Dalrymple—A Letter to the Hundred Gentlemen of Lincolnshire—A Letter on the subject of Wool, by William Mugleston—Inquiry into the Nature and Qualities of English Wool and Sheep—Introduction of Spinning Machines—Laws passed then—Estimate of each Manufacture in England—Consideration of the Woollen Manufacture of Ireland—Lord Sheffield on the Woollen Trade of Ireland—History of the Woollen Manufacture of Ireland—Value of Woollens imported into Ireland—Value of Irish Wool and Yarn—Committee to prevent Fraud in Wool—Spanish Sheep imported by George III.—Laws to prevent Smuggling Wool—Deputation to London from the Manufacturing Districts—Quantity of Wool grown in England—The Question of Wool truly stated—Table of Woollens Exported—Calculation as to the Value of Manufactures and Agriculture—Sir Joseph Banks on the Exportation of English Wool to France—A Letter to Arthur Young, by Thomas Day—Law passed—Letter to Lincolnshire Graziers, by Incola.

CHAPTER V.

FROM 1790 TO 1800.

Attention of Agriculturists to fine Wool—Report of the Highland Society—Sir John Sinclair—Dr. Anderson—Improvement of Wool in France—Anstie's Letters to the Bath Agricultural Society, with Observations on the Report of the Highland Society—On the Importation of Spanish Wool—Effect of Soil and Climate on Wool, by Sir J. Sinclair—Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Society for the Improvement of British Wool—Wool encouraged without Exportation, by Henry Wansey—History of the Wool Trade—Abstract of the Laws relating to Wool, and the Woollen Manufacture—Observations on the different Breeds of Sheep in each County of England and Wales—Attention to improve Sheep and Wool—Spanish Sheep imported by George III.—The Royal Flock—Sir Joseph Banks—The Duke of Bedford—Sheep-shearing at Woburn—Sale of Sheep—Prices given for them—Mr. Coke's Improvement in Sheep—Mr. Western's Merinos—Eden's Letters on Trade and Commerce—Tables of Exports, &c.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM 1738 TO 1774.

History of Mechanical Inventions, from Baines's "History of the Cotton Manufacture"—Remarks on Inventors and Inventions—Obstacles to the Extension of the Manufacture, from the Rudeness of the Machinery—Invention of the Fly Shuttle by John Kay, in 1738 : and of the Drop Box by Robert Kay—The One-Thread Spinning Wheel—Invention of Spinning by Rollers, by John Wyatt, of Birmingham—Description of the Process of Spinning—Patent for Spinning by Rollers taken out, in 1738, in the Name of Lewis Paul—Proofs that Wyatt was the Author of this great Invention—

Cotton Spinning Mills at Birmingham and Northampton—Letter of Mr. Charles Wyatt on his Father's Invention—Paul's Second Patent for a Spinning Machine in 1738—Probability that Sir Richard Arkwright knew of Wyatt's Invention—Claims of Thomas High to the Invention of Spinning by Rollers—Sir Richard Arkwright ; his humble Origin ; his Construction of a Machine for Spinning by Rollers ; his Settlement at Nottingham ; Partnership with Messrs. Strutt and Need ; his first Patent for the Spinning Machine—James Hargreaves invents the Spinning Jenny ; his Machine broken by a Mob ; Riots against Machinery ; Hargreaves retires to Nottingham—Effects of the Spinning Machines on the Cotton Manufacture—Other Improvements in the Spinning Machinery—Carding ; the old Methods ; the Carding Cylinder invented by Lewis Paul in 1748—Subsequent Improvements in the Carding Engine by Arkwright and others—Great Importance of Watt's Improvements in the Steam Engine—National and Universal Benefits derivable from it—Paul and Arkwright's Inventions adapted to the Woollen Manufacture, by B. Gott, Esq.—Pottle and Cartwright's Machines for Combing wool—Wool-combers' Petitions to Parliament—Power-Looms introduced by Cartwright.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM 1800 TO 1804.

Irish Union—Laws respecting the Woollen Trade with Ireland—Proceedings in Parliament—Examination at the Bar of the House of Lords—Mr. Law's (Lord Ellenborough's) Address to the House of Lords—Witnesses Examined—Mr. Witherforce's Amendment in the House of Commons—Observations on the Objection to the Exportation of British Wool, by Lord Sheffield—An Address to the Woollen Manufacturers of Great Britain, by Alexander Williamson—Jacob's Travels in Germany and Holland.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM 1788 TO 1803.

Sheep—Their Management—Wool—Bourgoing's Modern State of Spain—The Management of Sheep in Spain—The Woollen Manufactures of Spain—Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies—Bright's Travels in Lower Hungary—Jacob's Travels in Germany and Holland—Moegelin Flocks—Flocks of George III.—Samples of the Wool sent by Sir Joseph Banks to Mr. Maitland—Report thereon—Distribution of Merino Sheep from the Royal Flock—Public Sale of Sheep—Facts and Observations on fine Woolled Sheep, by Dr. Parry—Lord Somerville on Sheep and Wool—Introduction and Progress of fine woolled Sheep in New South Wales, by John Mac Arthur—Number of Sheep in New South Wales.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM 1805 TO 1810.

Lacroix on English Wool—Facts and Observations relative to Sheep and Wool, by Lord Somerville—Bakewell on the Influence of Soil and Climate on Wool, with Notes by Lord Somerville—On the Introduction of Merino Sheep into different States of Europe, by G. P. Lasteyrie—The Flock of Rambouillet—Sale of Sheep and Wool—Sheep of the Cape of Good Hope—Italy—Great

Britain—On the Management of Merino Sheep in Saxony—Mackenzie's Travels in Iceland—Account of the Sheep in Iceland—Walton's Account of Peruvian Sheep—The Lama, Alpaca, Huanaco, Vigonia, and Common Sheep.

CHAPTER X.

FROM 1810 to 1819.

Improvement in Machinery—Gig Mills—Riots—Luddism—Disappointments in Merino Sheep—Tax proposed on Foreign Wool—Petition in support from Wool Growers—Select Committee in the House of Commons on the Wool and Woollen Trade—Excitement in the Clothing Districts—Public Meetings—Resolutions passed—Deputies meet in London, John Maitland, Esq. Chairman—Evidence before Select Committee—Lord Lascelles, Chairman—Report of Committee—Lord Milton's Opinion on the Exportation of British Wool—Lord Milton's Letter to James Bischoff—Answer thereto—Lord Sheffield's Report at the Lewes Wool Fair, 1816—Letters to the Earl of Sheffield, by J. B. S.—Meeting of Agriculturists—Resolutions.

CHAPTER XI.

1818—1819.

Observations on the Impolicy of permitting the Exportation of British Wool, and of preventing the free Importation of Foreign Wool, by John Maitland, Esq. M.P.—Appendix thereto—Speeches of Mr. Law and Mr. Plumer—Letter to the Marquis of Rockingham—Letters of J. B. S.—Letter of Sir Walter Raleigh—Letter of James Bischoff—"Armata," by Lord Erskine—"Philopatria's" (Jno. Clay's) Answer to Lord Erskine—Motion for the Tax in the House of Commons—Meeting of the Wool and Woollen Trade in London—Petition to Parliament—Lord Sheffield's Address at Lewes Wool Fair—Answer, by James Bischoff—Meeting of Agriculturists in London—Resolutions—Motion for Wool Returns—Question, by Mr. Wortley—Tax on the Importation proposed by Government—Division thereon—Tax Imposed.

CHAPTER XII.

1820.

Reasons for the immediate Repeal of the Tax on Foreign Wool, by James Bischoff—Answer thereto, by Veritas—Reply, by Philopatria—Reflections on the Present State of Society, by a Carpet Manufacturer—Essay on the Corn Laws—Lord Sheffield's Address at Lewis Wool Fair—Answer thereto, by James Bischoff.

PREFACE.

THIS book being professedly and virtually a compilation from various works, it may not be thought inappropriate or out of character to commence, even the preface, with the following anecdote, extracted from the autobiography of Hogg:—

“For more than a month, my head has been fully tenanted by ideas, which, though strictly pastoral and rural, were neither literary nor poetical. Long sheep and short sheep, and tups and gimmers, and hogs and dinmonts, have made a perfect sheepfold of my understanding, which is hardly yet cleared of them.” To which the following note is added:—Describing his meeting with Scott (Sir Walter Scott,) in the summer of 1801, James Hogg says, “during the sociality of the evening, the discourse ran very much on the different breeds of sheep. That curse of the community of the Ettrick Forest, the original black-faced forest breed, being always called the short sheep, and the Cheviot breed, the long sheep,—the dispute at that period ran very high, about the practicable profits of each. Mr. Scott, who had come into that remote district to preserve what fragments remained of its legendary lore, was rather bored with everlasting questions of the long and the short sheep; so at length, putting on his most serious calculating face, he turned to Mr. Walter Bryden, and said, ‘I am rather at a loss regarding the merits of this very important question. How

long must a sheep actually measure to come under the denomination of long sheep?' Mr. Bryden, who, in the simplicity of his heart, neither felt the quiz nor the reproof, fell to answer with great sincerity. 'It's the woo, (wool) Sir; i'ts the woo that makes the difference, the lang sheep hae the short woo, and the short sheep hae the lang thing, and these are just kind of names we ge'e them, like. Mr. Scott could not preserve his countenance of strict calculation, it went gradually away, and a hearty horse-laugh followed."

It will be a very natural question from any one who sees this compilation, What object could be attained, adequate to the devotion of so much time and labour to a work, not meant for publication, and which, when finished, though written with a manifold writer, must be confined to five copies only? My answer is, that I can go much farther than even the Ettrick Shepherd. During a pretty long life, my attention has been given to wool and the woollen manufacture. Born and brought up at Leeds, that great mart of the wool and woollen trades, my early mercantile pursuits were devoted to them; I took a lively interest in every measure likely to affect them; and whenever questions were agitated, I took part respecting them. I was in early life imbued with the opinions which attached to almost every one then connected with the woollen trade; I considered the restrictions which had been almost for ages imposed on the exportation of British wool of vital importance; and when a tax on the importation of foreign wool was recommended, and it was suggested by the late Earl of Liverpool, then first Lord of the Treasury, that it would be only an act of common justice to the wool growers, if this market continued open for the sale of foreign wool, to give them the power of sending their produce to the best market they could find,—I well remember his lordship's reply to the remark of one of the manufacturers, that the prosperity of

the woollen as well as the worsted manufacture, depended upon keeping our wool at home, and the laws then in existence:—" *May not those trades have prospered, and perhaps existed, in despite and not in consequence of those laws?*" The justness of that observation will be apparent in this compilation. In the year 1819, when the present Lord Bexley, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed in his budget a tax of sixpence per lb. on the importation of foreign wool, I made every exertion in my humble sphere to prevent that most injurious measure; and when by the power of the landed aristocracy in Parliament that tax was laid, I ceased not my endeavours to obtain its repeal till that object was accomplished; and when a similar measure was in contemplation in 1828, and a committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the wool and woollen trades, I again took an active part, and might say, in the words of the Ettrick Shepherd, "the subject had almost made a perfect sheepfold of my understanding," and my friends, like Sir Walter Scott, "were bored with the everlasting questions of long and short sheep."

My exertions, poor as they were, have been, however, too highly appreciated, and far too liberally rewarded, having repeatedly received votes of thanks from public meetings held in London, and in the manufacturing districts,—having been presented in 1820, and also in 1828, with valuable pieces of plate, from the merchants, manufacturers, woolstaplers, and others, of Leeds and the neighbourhood, and having received similar tokens from the trustees of each of the Cloth-halls at Leeds, as well as a very liberal and gratifying mark of attention from the committee of the wool and woollen trades in London. And when, from the infirmities of age, my excellent and most respected friend, the late John Maitland, Esq., who for half a century was chairman of the wool and woollen trades, and for many years their able and unwearied advocate in the House of Commons, was unable

to fulfil his important duties, I was unanimously chosen his successor as chairman of the trades. Surely I have said enough to justify me in the labour I have given to the work. If no other motive than gratitude weighed upon my mind, it became my duty to do everything in my power to place on record the various subjects and measures which have been discussed relating to these trades, so that they may be referred to, together with Smith's Memoirs of Wool, in case such questions should be again agitated.

In pursuing my object, I have possessed some advantages which few, if any others, could avail themselves of. I have had access to documents written by gentlemen, with whose families I am nearly connected, who were deputed from Yorkshire to give evidence before Parliament respecting the woollen trade, viz., the late David Stansfeld, Esq., of Hope, near Halifax, in 1752, and the late Thos. Wolrich, Esq., of Armley House, near Leeds, in 1774; the latter of whom had commenced a compilation upon this very subject, with much local detail as to the state of the woollen manufacture in Yorkshire, in his time. And while thus bent upon following my duty as well as my inclination, I have endeavoured to make myself master of this topic, and to acquire information wherever it could be found; and I have met with several who have most kindly rendered me every assistance in their power; amongst them, I am particularly indebted to my old and highly valued friend, Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., who, independent of his local information, spared no exertions or trouble in obtaining such returns and accounts which, as Member of Parliament, he possessed; and I am also much obliged to John Macgregor, Esq., of the Board of Trade, for information in his department; to Thomas Cook, Esq., of Crownest, near Dewsbury; to John Varley, Esq., of Stanningley, near Leeds, who have kindly given me much information; to Thos. Southey, Esq.; and to Daniel Hazard, Esq., London, for the pains they have taken to procure it.

The subject of sheep is coeval with the records of the very earliest times. Smith commenced his *Memoirs of Wool* with the extract from the book of Genesis, "Abel was a keeper of sheep," and concentrated in two volumes quarto, (his first edition being in two volumes octavo,) all the information given in the Old and New Testaments, respecting wool and woollen fabrics, as well as the legislative enactments, and abstracts from various writers to about the year 1740.*

The wool and woollen trades were considered so important, that measures were constantly adopted by the legislature, frequently at the instigation of interested persons, avowedly, though not always really, for their advancement and protection. The late Mr. Huskisson, one of the most able and most intelligent statesmen ever known in this or any other country, and to whom the British merchant and manufacturer in every branch of our varied and extensive national industry are deeply indebted, said in his excellent speech on moving for modifications and reduction of duties on raw materials and restrictions on trade, and after speaking of the cotton trade, the great prosperity of which he attributed in some measure to less interference of legislation:—"I proceed next to the great staple of the country, I mean the woollen manufacture. This is the oldest staple, and its manufacturers have been favoured and fondled and cherished to a peculiar degree; they are a sort of favourite children with the legislature. Like other favourite children, too, they have been spoiled by being petted and favoured. The cotton manufacture, as a younger child, having been in some degree left to itself, has thriven more, and acquired a more vigorous constitution. If I could show what laws were made and maintained for centuries, to protect our woollen manufactures, I should fully satisfy the Committee of the extent to

* The first chapter of this work is an abridgment of the "*Memoirs of Wool*," which was made by Smith himself.

which this mischievous policy was carried : I wish indeed there were means of making the exposure of the law, because without it, posterity will never be satisfied of the extent of the evil which such legislation creates. Within my memory, more than one hundred statutes for the protection of this branch have been repealed ; all who dealt in the manufacture were obliged to attend to the most minute legislative regulations. Some statutes regulated the clipping of the sheep, some the packing of wool, some the mode of transferring it from one place to another,—all violations were subject to penalties, some to felony : this was most injurious to the manufacturer : most of these laws are since swept away.”

Well might Mr. Huskisson speak of legislative interference. In the year 1792 an abstract was published “ of laws relating to the growers of wool, and to the manufacturers of, and dealers in all sorts of woollen commodities,” and that abstract enumerates and gives the titles of three hundred and eleven laws on those subjects, then on the statute book ! Well might the Earl of Liverpool say the woollen manufacture may have prospered or existed in despite of restrictions ! Well might he and such men as Mr. Huskisson see the good policy of sweeping away from the statute-book laws made in the infancy of the manufacture,—some most useful at that time, but many passed for private and temporary interests, for the supposed protection of one class against the rights of other classes, and which were frequently injurious to both, shackling them, and producing never-ceasing jealousy and warfare ! And well may the successors to those statesmen see the advantages which have resulted from their most difficult and persevering exertions to remove prejudices and restrictions, and to give full scope to national industry, whether employed in agriculture, commerce, or manufactures,—bringing comfort, support, and peace, to our dense population ! Much has been done, but very much more is still required,—not to be carried out

suddenly or rashly, so as to injure those who have so long existed in an artificial state, but step by step, with caution and deliberation, that each may see the beneficial consequences which would result from change, and be prepared to meet their altered situation. The evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons on Import Duties must open the eyes of all as to the pernicious consequences, as well as respects the public revenue as commercial enterprise, of mis-called protecting duties upon almost every branch of our national industry: and looking to the relief which has been given by Mr. Huskisson's policy to the woollen and silk manufactures, there is every inducement to extend it to every other. That Committee has indeed elicited most valuable information; but I trust I may be allowed to say they did not go far enough. They have indeed shown the injury to our own country; but if they had inquired into others, and looked into official documents, it would have been seen that what has been so injurious to us has been a bonus to foreigners. I have endeavoured in this work to show the increase of the wool and the woollen trade in Prussia; similar details with respect to the cotton, iron, and other manufactures, would have been foreign to the object of this compilation, but would have shown similar results.

In making the following compilation, I have been grieved to find the pernicious consequence of legislative interference in manufacture and commerce, and the extreme danger of giving power to make laws to any class or profession, upon questions in which they are themselves personally interested: the jealousy and prejudices of manufacturers are no less conspicuous than those of agriculturists. Look to the measures which were adopted with regard to Ireland; her agricultural resources were checked and paralyzed by laws, originating in the fears and jealousy of England, to prevent the exportation from Ireland of her corn, her wool,

her cattle, her manufactures. The feelings of the Irish may be best ascertained from the writings of the day; the motto of one of the books, “Observations on the Present State of Ireland, particularly with relation to the Woollen Manufacture,” printed in 1731, has the well known line of Virgil for its motto,

“Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes;”

and which is rendered as follows :

“I dread an Englishman, even when he does me a kindness.”

And the following is extracted from the work :—

“It is extremely severe to hinder them (the Irish) not only from exporting their manufactures, but from sending abroad the wool; they (the English) suffer them to export it nowhere but to England, where they set a duty upon it, which amounts almost to a prohibition. It was certainly a notion of those times, that the Irish were a different species of animals from other men, and their stomachs were formed to digest their Wool.”

Happily those times have gone by; the value of Ireland is known and appreciated, and will be increased by placing her upon the same footing as England, assimilating the laws and customs, making Great Britain and Ireland differ in name only, but one in government, uniting the people of both in the ties of brotherhood, interested in and anxious to promote the good of the whole.

In giving particulars of the evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords in 1828, I have classed under each head, as defined by the Committee, all the information elicited upon either side of the question, so that the whole is brought into one focus on each subject.

At the close of the second volume I have inserted statistical tables relating to wool and woollens, tracing them and their extent for the last century. I have also, from tables, endeavoured to show the rapid increase in the growth of wool,

not only in this country from the altered husbandry, but in Germany, Prussia, Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and indeed in all parts of the globe. It was formerly said that the woollen manufacture must always be much limited in extent, in consequence of the limited production of wool; but looking to the vast range now open to sheep pasturage, I can conceive no bounds to its increase. I know not why it should be less abundant than cotton; and, the shackles once removed from national industry, and full scope and freedom given to it, the fondled and petted child of former days may recover from its enervating indulgence, burst from its leading strings, and again vie with and equal its younger, but now more vigorous brother, both in extent and usefulness, making the Woollen Manufacture again the great staple of Great Britain and Ireland.

JAMES BISCHOFF.

Highbury Terrace, 1841.



HISTORY

OF THE

WOOLLEN TRADE, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

ON ANCIENT MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.

Earliest mention of Wool.—Earliest Manufacture.—Earliest Clothing.—Costs of Skin, Tunic, Simla.—Warp and Wool.—Woollen and Linen Manufacture.—Advance in Manufactures and Arts.—Tents of Goats' Hair.—Variety of Colour.—Dyeing: the words "of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet," mean Woollens of these Colours.—The Breed of Sheep—the fat-tailed Sheep, description of.—Dean Prideaux's Account of the trade of Tyre—Ancient Commerce of the East—the Trade of Kings David and Solomon with Ophir and Tarshish; the immense wealth derived from them.—The History of the Trade to the present Time—Palmyra, its Trade.—Silk.—Professor Millar's Account of the Trade of the Continent, and the Introduction and Establishment of the Woollen Manufacture in Great Britain.

As a proper introduction to this work, it may be interesting to trace the earliest mention of wool and woollens, as well as other manufactures, and their connection with ancient commerce; and for this purpose the compiler will extract various passages from Scripture, from Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament, and from Millar's Historical View of the English Government, which will bring their history to the period when Smith's Memoir of Wool was written.

In order to explain the various texts in Scripture, the compiler consulted Professor Hurwitz, one of the most learned men, and considered to be one of the best Hebrew scholars of the present age, who has most kindly, at that request, given much information; and considerable light has also been thrown upon the subject by Mr. Charles Fellows's recent discoveries in Lycia, and from information which he has also kindly communicated.

With respect to manufactures, Professor Hurwitz writes:

“ There can be no doubt that manufactures and the arts must have attained a high degree of perfection at the time when Moses wrote ; and that many of them were known long before that period, we have the evidence of Scripture. It is true that inventions were at first few, and their progress very slow, but they were suited to the then condition and circumstances of man, as is evident even in the art of clothing. Placed in the salubrious and mild air of paradise, our first parents could hardly want any other covering than what decency required. Accordingly we find that the first and only article of dress was the חגורה *chagora*, the belt. (not aprons, as in the established version). The materials of which it was made were fig leaves ; (Gen. iii. 7.) the same tree that afforded them food and shelter, furnished them likewise with materials for covering their bodies. But when in consequence of their transgressions they were to be ejected from their blissful abode, and forced to dwell in less favourable regions, a more substantial covering became necessary, their merciful Creator made them (i. e. inspired them with the thoughts of making for themselves) כתנות עור coats of skins. (Gen. iii. 21.) The original word is כתנת *c'thoneth*, whence the Greek χιτών the tunic, a close garment that was usually worn next the skin, it reached to the knees, and had sleeves (in after times it was made either of wool or linen.) After man had subdued the sheep (Hebrew כבש *caves* from כבש to subdue) and learned how to make use of its wool, we find a new article of dress, namely the שמלה *simla*, an upper garment : it consisted of a piece of cloth about six yards long and two or three wide, in shape not unlike our blankets. This will explain Gen ix. 23, ‘ And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward and covered the nakedness of their father.’ It served as a dress by day, as a bed by night, (Exod. xxii. 26,) ‘ If thou at all take thy neighbour’s raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goeth down ; for that is his covering only ; it is his raiment for his skin : wherein shall he sleep ?’ And sometimes burdens were carried in it, (Exod. xii. 34,) ‘ And the people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading-troughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders.’

"In the course of time various other garments came into use, as mentioned in several parts of Scripture. The materials of which these garments were usually made are specified in Leviticus xiii. 47-59, 'The garment also that the plague of the leprosy is in, whether it be a woollen garment or a linen garment: whether it be in the warp or woof, of linen or of woollen; whether in a skin, or in anything made of skin,' &c."

So far the woollen and linen manufacture, and weaving, are distinctly mentioned at that early period: other branches are also named, as well as the progress in arts, the comforts of life, the nature of trade, and the employment of coin:—

Gen. iv. 17. And he (Cain) builded a city.

20. And Adah bare Jabel: he was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle.

21. And his brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of such as handle the harp and the organ.

22. And Zillah, she also bare Tubalcain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron.

Gen. vi. 14. Make thee an ark of gopher wood, rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch.

15. And this is the fashion which thou shalt make it of: the length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits.

16. A window shalt thou make in the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above, and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, and second, and third stories shalt thou make it.

Gen. ix. 20. And Noah began to be a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard.

Gen. xi. 3. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar.

4. And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven.

Gen. xiv. 23. That I will not take from a thread even to a shoe latchet.

Gen. xvii. 23. And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and all that were bought with money.

Gen. xxiii. 15. My lord, hearken unto me: the land is worth four hundred shekels of silver: what is that betwixt thee and me? bury, therefore, thy dead.

16. And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron, and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant.

Gen. xxiv. 22. And it came to pass, as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a gold ear-ring, of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands, of ten shekels weight of gold.

The above texts show the great progress in luxury and refinement, the advancement in living, from tents to the building of cities and towers.

It appears clear that the tents were made of goats' hair, and that the tents of the present day are made of the same material. The Chevalier d'Arvieux, who published an account of his travels in the East, in the early part of last century, thus describes the Arabian shepherds:—"These Arabs have no other lodging than their tents, which they call houses; they are all black, of goats' hair canvass, and are stretched out in such a manner that the rain easily runs off, without ever going through them. The tent of the Emir is of the same stuff, and differs only from those of his subjects in bigness."

Mr. Fellows writes (Lycia):—"Bienden, the place of our destination for the evening, was still distant seven hours. About five miles on the way the tract lay through several Turkish burial grounds, each containing remains of ancient sculpture, marble columns, cornices, and square stones: upon one was an inscription, which could not have been moved from its original site. Its first intention may have been to commemorate the course of a great conqueror: at present, it marks the grave of some unknown Yourook, or herdsman, whose race occupy the black goats' hair tents, scattered over the widely extended plain."

Mr. Fellows describes the goats' hair as very long, from eight to twelve inches, and very thick; well adapted to make tents for such a country. The goats must be very numerous. He says (Lycia, Delta of the Xanthus):—"Around were

barren crags, scarcely affording pasture to the flocks of large black goats on their rocky sides; the height to which they had climbed made me giddy, on looking up to reach whence came their bleating."^{*}

* The description given by Mr. Fellows of the pastoral life of the people is so interesting and so beautifully written, that its insertion is not inappropriate.

MAY 10, LYCIA.—"The interest of our halt was greatly increased by our observing an almost uninterrupted train of cattle and people moving from the valleys to the cool places for the summer season, the Yccilassies. I was much struck by the simplicity and patriarchal appearance of the several families, which brought forcibly to my mind the description of pastoral life in the Bible history. What a picture would Landseer make of such a pilgrimage! The snowy tops of the mountains were seen through the lofty and dark green fir-trees, terminating in abrupt cliffs, many thousand feet of perpendicular height. From clefts in these gushed out cascades falling in torrents, the sound of which, from the great distance, was heard only in the stillness of the evening, and the waters were carried away by the wind in spray over the green woods, before they could reach their deep bed in the rocky ravines beneath. In a zigzag course up the woods lay the track leading to the cool places.

"In the advance of the pastoral groups were the straggling goats, browsing on the first blossom of the wild almond as they passed. In more steady courses followed the small black cattle with their calves, and among them several asses, carrying in middle-bags those calves that were too young to follow the watchful mother. Then came the flocks of sheep and the camels, each with their young; two or three fine camels, bearing piled loads of ploughs, tents, tent-poles, kettles, pans, presses, and all the utensils of a dairy; and amidst this rustic load was always seen the rich Turkey carpet and damask cushions,—the pride even of the poorest Turk. Behind these portions of the train I must place with more finish the family—the foreground of my picture. An old man, and generally his wife, lead the clan, which consists of several generations; many of them must have seen near fourscore summers on the mountains,—the old man, grasping a long stick, leads his children with a firm step; his son, the master of the flock, follows with his wife: she is often seated on a horse, with a child in her arms, and other horses are led, all clothed with the gayest trappings of a Turkish stud. Asses are allotted to the younger children, who are placed amidst the domestic stores, and never without a pet cat in their arms: long tresses of hair hang down their necks, and are kept closely to their head by a circlet of coins. By their side walks the eldest son, with all the air and alacrity of a young sportsman; over his shoulder hangs a long-barrelled gun; in his hands is the cage of a decoy partridge, and a classic-looking hound follows at his heels; a number of shepherds' boys mingle with the flock and bring up the rear. The gay costumes, the varied noises of the cattle, and the high glee attending the party on this annual expedition, must be supplied by the imagination.

"I should think that twenty families passed in succession during our halt, few of them having less than one hundred head of small cattle and stock, and many had more. In some families, attendants, servants or farming labourers, were among the cattle, generally with their aprons tied around them, in which they carried two or three kids. They had often over their shoulders a small calf with all its legs tied together on the breast, exactly as seen in the offerings on the bas-reliefs at Xanthus and elsewhere.

It appears from Scripture that the woollen manufacture was not only known in the earliest ages, but even the art of dyeing was carried to great perfection.

Gen. xxxviii. 3. Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his old age, and he made him a coat of many colours.

The value and distinction attached to such variegated dresses, shows that they were not common, and were formed by some elaborate process. This continued long after the time of David; such a dress was a distinction for a king's daughter, 2 Samuel, xiii. 18:—"And she had a garment of divers colours upon her, for with such robes were the king's daughters that were virgins apparelled;" and Judges v. 30:—"Have they not divided the prey; to Sisera a prey of divers colours of needlework on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil?" Here, we see ladies anticipating the return of a victorious general, with a prey of divers colours of needlework on both sides. We may therefore infer that in those times people did not generally wear variegated dresses, the common use of which must have been consequent on the discovery of the art of dyeing, interweaving a variegated pattern in the original textures, or of printing it subsequently. Dr. Roberts states that in India it is now customary to invest a beautiful or favourite child with a coat of many colours, consisting principally of crimson, purple, and other colours, which are often tastefully sewed together. He adds, "A child being clothed in a garment of many colours, it is believed that neither tongue or evil spirit will injure him, because the attention is taken from the beauty of the person to that of the garment."*

"The longevity of the people in this pastoral country is very remarkable. I am sure that we have seen at least twenty peasants, within the last two days, above one hundred years of age, and apparently still enjoying health and activity of body: in some instances the mind appeared wandering. The temperate habits of the Turks, as well as some of their customs, may in part account for the prolongation of life in this country. One custom I may mention, as tending to diminish the cares of age, and to show the excellence of these simple people. When sons grow up and marry, the father gives over to them his flocks and property, and trusts to the known and natural affection of his children to take care of him in his declining years: to a son his parents are always his first charge."

* Pictorial Bible.

In reading the following texts of Scripture,—

Exod. xxv. 3. And this is the offering which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass,

4. And blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' hair.

Exod. xxvi. 1. Moreover thou shalt make the tabernacle with ten curtains of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, &c.

Exod. xxviii. 6. And they shall make the ephod of gold, of blue, and of purple, of scarlet, and fine twined linen, with cunning work.—

it had frequently occurred to the compiler of this work, that the colours so named could not apply to fine linen, for if that were the case it would have been more clearly expressed, without the word "*and*" preceding "*fine linen*," viz.: "*blue and purple, and scarlet fine linen*." And in Exodus xxvi, the "*and*" betwixt "*fine linen*," and the "*blue*," &c., makes a marked distinction betwixt them, so as to show the colour did not apply to the linen. This construction appeared the more probable, because the *full* lustre and beauty of the colour cannot now be given to vegetable materials, and consequently that part of the art of dyeing must have been lost. It therefore appears most probable, that as they could not mean "*linen*," they might or did mean woollen manufacture. With a view to ascertain this point, he applied to Professor Hurwitz, who sent him the following note:—

"DEAR SIR,—In reply to your note, permit me to say you are quite correct in your conjecture. Our most ancient commentators have been of the same opinion: the Talmud, Jarchi, Aben Ezra, &c. Mendlesohn, in his German translation, renders Exodus xxv. 4, 'Himmel blaue, purpur rothe, und hoch rothe *wolle*; und leinen garn,' &c.; although strictly speaking the Hebrew words תכלת—sky blue, ארמון purple, and תולעת שני—designate only the colours. In the instance as cited, the word צמר—wool is understood. In

Numb. iv. 6. And shall put thereon the covering of badgers' skins, and shall spread over it a *cloth* wholly of blue, and shall put in the staves thereof.

7. And upon the table of the shew bread, they shall spread a cloth of blue, and put thereon the dishes,

and the spoons, and the bowls, and covers to cover withal; and the continual bread shall be thereon.

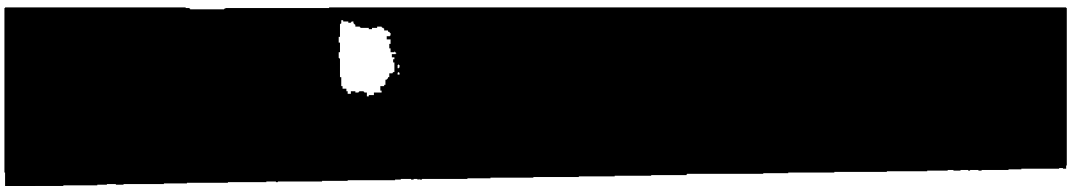
8. And they shall spread upon them a cloth of scarlet, and cover the same with a covering of badgers' skins, and shall put in the staves thereof,—

the word 'cloth' of our translation corresponds with the Hebrew בגד, *beged*, which means generally a garment, a cloth used for covering, made either of linen or wool; but in the present instance tradition tells us they were coverings made of wool, of the several colours mentioned in the text.”*

The information thus given appears to establish the point as to the early woollen manufacture, and looking to the facility and simplicity with which that would be carried on, as compared with the linen manufacture, it is most probable that for a long period the woollen manufacture was the only one known, and was indicated by the names of the colours alone. The same taste for colours still remains in the East, and the art of dyeing, which may have originated there, was carried to great perfection, having many of the dyeing materials produced there: the brilliancy of the colours is seen in the rich carpets of Persia and Turkey; and Mr. Fellows mentions their prevalence in the saddle-bags, carpets, and cushions, as worked of various hues, and made in the families of the shepherds.†

* Perhaps nothing better serves to show the vagueness of the word “purple,” as applied to colour, than its use by the ancient poets. To objects so varying in shade and even in colour, do they apply the term, that we are induced to regard it as indicating necessarily only something dark and rich—never *black*, never light, but that shade observed in union, sometimes with green, sometimes with red, and sometimes with blue. Thus blood, wine, the sea, the early morning, the rainbow, and the spring, are all called purple by one or other classic poet. Sometimes, as in the case of its application to the rainbow and the spring, it would appear to be vaguer still, and, corresponding with the ποικίλος of the Greek, to mean variegated.

† “Dyeing seems to have been one of the earliest of the arts: it was certainly known in Jacob's time, as we find from Joseph's coat of many colours, and also from the scarlet thread which the midwife tied about the hand of one of Thamar's children. How much earlier this art was known, it is impossible to ascertain. It is obvious that the blue and purple and scarlet are the only colours that at that period were mentioned. Dyeing, however, must have attained considerable perfection, judging from the diversified modes of its application. Thus we see that the entire piece was dyed, as in the robe of the ephod, which was all blue; threads for embroidery and the skins of animals, as the sheep-skins dyed red, which formed one of the coverings of the tabernacle. In the last instance we



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THE BREED OF SHEEP OF THE EARLIEST TIMES.

Mr. Fellows is of opinion that little, if any, change has been made: "having the broad tail, and known as the Cape sheep, but the flocks, I am told, are peculiar in having lambs

are not quite sure whether it was the fleece that was dyed, or the leather, after the fleece had been taken off. The high antiquity of this art is easily accounted for; most of the materials fit to be manufactured into tissues are of dull and sombre colours, and men would naturally seize the first hints that offered of obviating the unpleasant uniformity of the dress thus produced. Mr. Thomas is of opinion that the blue colours were produced from Indigo, and Belzoni was of the same opinion.

"Purple. Goguet and Heeren have respectively brought much interesting information with regard to the purple of antiquity, and from their works the following particulars are chiefly drawn.

"The preeminence given at the present day to purple, as a royal colour, is undoubtedly a result of the ancient preference, which arose when the relative superiority of purple to other colours was greater than at present. We have seen the colour frequently mentioned in connection with the works of the tabernacle and the dress of the High Priests and among the heathen we know that the colour was considered peculiarly appropriate to the service of the gods. The Babylonians and other nations used to array their gods in robes of purple. A persuasion was even entertained that in the purple dye there lay some peculiar virtue for appeasing the wrath of the gods. Purple was also the distinguishing mark of great dignities among several nations. It is said that when the beautiful purple of Tyre was first discovered, the sovereign to whom it was presented appropriated it as a royal distinction. Homer intimates that it was only worn by princes, and that limitation of its use was common with the nations. A very early notice of this occurs in Scripture, when the king of the Midians, defeated by Gideon, was described as being clothed in purple raiment. Judges viii. 26, 'And the weight of the gold ear-rings that he requested was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold, besides ornaments and collars and purple raiment, that was on the kings of the Midians.' It seems to us very likely that there were several purples, held in various degrees of estimation: it was only some particular shade of purple that was reserved for a god-like or royal distinction.

"It is important to understand that the word purple in ancient writings does not denote one particular colour. Pliny mentions the difference between some of the purples: one was faint, approaching to a scarlet, and that was the least esteemed; another was a very dull red, approaching to a violet; and a third was a colour compared to coagulated bullock's blood. The most esteemed Tyrian purple seems to have been of the last colour we say the most esteemed, because it appears that even the Tyrian purple was not one particular colour, but a class of animal dyes as distinguished from vegetable, varying in shades of purple from the most faint to the most intense. It is to be understood, however, that the Tyrian purples were more esteemed than any other colours, although they differed in degree of value. Of the vegetable purples we know nothing; most of the information relates to the purple of the Phœnicians: their dye was obtained from several varieties of shell-fish, comprehended under two species,—one (*Buccinum*) found in cliffs, and the other (*Purpura* or *Pelagia*) which was the proper purple fish taken at sea the first was found on the coast of the Mediterranean and

twice during the year, and frequently two lambs at a time ; this profitable quality of course increases the price of the sheep.”—(*Valley of Meander.*)

In speaking, too, of the peasantry and agriculture, he says,

Atlantic, and locally differed in the tint and value of the dye which they furnished. The Atlantic shells afforded the darkest colour ; those of the Italian and Sicilian coast a violet or purple ; and those of the Phœnician coast itself, and in general on the southern coast of the Mediterranean, yielded scarlet colours.”—(*Pictorial Bible.*)

Swinburne, in his *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, gives the following interesting account of the purple dye :—

“*Taranto.* Near the Alcanterini convent is a small hillock, wholly formed of the shells of fish, employed by the ancients in their composition of their famous purple dye, and not far from it are the remains of some reservoirs and conduits appertaining to the works. My readers may not be sorry to meet with a description of the testaceous fishes that furnished the precious ingredient, and of the method used in extracting and preparing it, taken from the accounts extant in the classic authors, and the dissertations of modern naturalists.

“ Purple was produced from two sorts of shell-fish, the *Murex* and the *Purpura*, both belonging to the testaceous or third genus of Linnæus’ sixth class.

“ From the former a dark blue colour was obtained ; the latter gave a bright tint, approaching to scarlet. The body of the animal that inhabits these shells consists of three parts ; the lowest, containing the bowels, remains fixed in the twisted screws at the bottom, for the purpose of performing the digestive functions ; it is fleshy and tinged with the colour of the food ; the middle division is of a callous substance and full of liquor, which, if let out of its bag, will stain the whole animal and its habitation ; the third and upper part is made of the member necessary for procuring food and propagating the race. The *Murex* generally remains fastened to rocks and stones ; the *Purpura*, being a fish of prey, is by nature a rover, and one of the most voracious animals of the deep : the proper season for dragging for this shell-fish was in autumn and winter. To come at the liquor, the shell was broken with one smart blow, and the pouch extracted with the greatest nicety by means of a hook. If the shells were of small size, they were thrown by heaps into the mill and pounded.

“ The veins were laid in a cistern, salt was strewed over them, to cause them to purge and keep sweet, in the proportion of twenty ounces of salt to one hundred pounds of fish. They were thus macerated for three days, after which the muci-lage was drawn off into a leaden cauldron, in order that the colours (by being heated therein) might acquire additional lustre and vivacity, as all marine colours do by mixture with that metal. To keep the vessel from melting, eighteen pounds of water were added to one hundred and fifty pounds of purple, and the heat given horizontally to the bottom, by means of a flue brought from a furnace. By this process, fleshy particles were carried off, and the liquor left pure after about ten days’ settling.

“ The dye was tried by dipping locks of wool in it, till they had imbibed a dark blue colour. As the colour of the *murex* would not stand alone, the dyer always mixed a proportion of *purpura* juice with it. They steeped the wool for five hours, then shook, dried, and carded it ; dipped it in again and again, till it was saturated with the dye. The preparation requisite for staining 50lbs. of wool, with

(Xanthus) "The peasantry here are far more industrious than in most districts I have visited. At this season (April) every field has its yoke of oxen at work, tilling the ground in the same manner as in the times of the early inhabitants.

the finest deep amethyst colour, was twenty pounds murex, to one hundred and ten pounds of purpura. To produce the Tyrian purple, which resembles the colour of coagulated blood, it was necessary, first to steep the wool in pure unboiled purpura juice, and then let it lie and simmer with that of the murex. By different mixtures of these two dyes, varieties were obtained according to the changes of fashion, which ran into violet till the reign of Augustus, when it inclined to the Tarentine scarlet; and this soon afterwards made way for the Dyabasa Tyria, the most extravagant dye of all the tints. We read of fleeces being dyed upon the backs of sheep, but remain in the dark as to the method and advantage of that process.

"The Greeks, who were never at a loss for an ingenious fable to cover their ignorance of origin and causes, attributed the discovery of purple to the dog of Hercules, which, in a range along the shore, met with a shell-fish and greedily crushed it between its teeth: instantly an indelible purple stained its muzzle, and by this accident was suggested the first idea of dyeing cloth. The art was most undoubtedly practised in times of very remote antiquity. Moses and Homer mention compound colours; the wife of Alcinous is described as spinning wool tinged with the marine purple."—*Swinburne's Travels*.

"**Scarlet.** There has been some difference of opinion about this colour: some think it is merely one of the Phœnician purples produced from the shell-fish: others hesitate to say whether the crimson or scarlet is intended by the word 'scarlet,' and by its equivalent in other languages. Besides the dye produced by the murex, a crimson or scarlet was found in ancient times obtained from an insect akin to the American cochineal, but producing a most inferior colour. The insect was called *Kermes* (whence the name carmine crimson) by the Arabs, and *Coccus* by the Greeks and Romans. The female insect is about the size and shape of a pea, of deep violet colour, powdered with white, found chiefly on the leaves of a species of ever-green oak shrub (*Ilex aculeata*) which is found in different parts of Western Asia and the whole of Europe. Now that the colour afforded by this insect was the scarlet of Moses, seems tolerably clear. The word rendered 'scarlet' in the books of Moses, was a worm; and according to the analogy in the use of the word, *kermes* would literally be rendered 'worm-dye.' The word is variously interpreted to mean either 'double-dyed,' or 'the best scarlet,' and seems to have been, according to another derivation, 'bright deep red dye:' the terms together seem sufficiently to point out a species of *coccus*, doubtless the *coccus ilius*. It is so understood by the Septuagint and Vulgate. Professor Tychsen says that *tola* was the ancient Phœnician name for the dye used by the Hebrews, and even by the Syrian translation in Isaiah c. i. v. 18, 'Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord though your sins are as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.' After the captivity, the Jews more commonly used the Armenian word *Zeheri*. The same learned orientalist thinks that the dye was discovered by the Phœnicians, and if so, and if they were the great managers of this, as well as of the purple dyes, it would be useful to ascertain the difference in application, appearance, and quality, between this and the purple scarlet. Was their former scarlet this, or that produced by the shell fish? We incline to think it was the *coccus*, and

The tents of the husbandmen are pitched upon the swamps when sufficiently dried; the tillage is for the late crops of maize, the barley being now in the ear, and the wheat nearly full grown: the beans and vetches are in bloom. The industry and independence of the inhabitants has caused us much trouble to obtain the requisite supplies. We have had to send several miles before we could persuade the shepherds at this season to part with their sheep: at last a lad has brought one, for which we have to pay him a present in addition to the price of the sheep." Mr. Fellows states that the flocks consist of various numbers, seldom less than forty, or more than one hundred in each flock. His description of the fat-tailed sheep is certainly in accordance with what can be gathered from Scripture regarding the original breed:—

Lev. viii. 25. And he (Moses) took the fat and the rump, and all the fat that was upon the inwards, and the caul above the liver, and the two kidneys and their fat, and the right shoulder.

Lev. ix. 18. He slew also the bullock and the ram, for a sacrifice of peace offerings, which was for the people.

19. And the fat of the bullock and of the ram, the rump, and that which covereth the inwards, and the kidneys, and the caul above the liver.

Lev. iii. 9. And he shall offer of the sacrifice of the peace offering, an offering made by fire unto the Lord; the fat thereof and the whole rump. it shall be taken off hard by the back bone, &c.*

that the scarlet of the first dyes was only used in modifying the purple; and we arrive at this conclusion because, while a scarlet is mentioned as the basis of the ancient purple, the scarlet is always noticed as something distinct from the purple. We imagine the distinction between the two has been, that the purple *scarlet* was crimson, while the kermes scarlet was the red *scarlet*, or perhaps more properly vermilion (the worm scarlet). Professor Tychsen, supposing the identity of the scripture scarlet with the kermes established, properly concludes that the kermes-dye was known before the time of Moses; that the dye was known to the Egyptians at the time of Moses, for the Israelites must have carried it along with them from Egypt; that the Arabs received the name "kermes" with the dye from Armenia or Persia, where it was indigenous, and had been long known, and that that name banished the old name in the East, as the name scarlet has in the West. The kermes were perhaps not known in Arabia, at least they were not indigenous, as the Arabs appear to have had no name for them."—*Pictorial Bible*.

* "Dr. Boothroyd renders more distinctly 'the large fat tail entire taken clear to the rump.' It seems extraordinary that the tail of a sheep (only of a sheep)

In attempting to trace the earliest commerce of the world, it would appear that manufactures formed a considerable part, and, admitting that by "*of blue, and of scarlet, and of purple,*" were meant woollens of those colours, they are distinctly stated; but with a view of giving Dean Prideaux's account of ancient commerce, it will be useful to copy a great part of that most important chapter on the trade of Tyre, from Ezekiel, 27th chapter:—

1. The word of the Lord came again unto me, saying,
2. Now thou, son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyrus.
3. And say unto Tyrus, O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles, Thus saith the Lord God, O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty.

should be pointed out with so much care as a suitable offering upon God's altar, was it not distinctly understood what sheep and what tail was intended. The directions indicate that the fat-tailed sheep were usually offered in sacrifice, if the flocks of the Hebrews were not wholly composed of them. This species is particularly abundant in Syria and Palestine, equalling or out-numbering the common Bedouin species. Even the latter, though in other respects much resembling the common English sheep, is distinguished by a larger or thicker tail than any British species possesses. But the tail of the species peculiarly called fat-tailed, seems to exceed all reasonable bounds, and has attracted the attention of all travellers from the time of Herodotus to our own. Those tails, or rather tails loaded on each side with enormous masses of fat, are often one-fourth the weight of the whole carcass, when divested of head, intestines, and skin. The tail seem to attain the largest size in the countries with which the Hebrews were most conversant; for in countries more eastward, we never saw them quite so large as the largest of those described by Dr. Russell, in his *Natural History of Aleppo*. He says that a common sheep of this sort, weighed, without offal, 60 or 70 lbs., of which the tail usually weighed 50 lbs. or upwards; but he adds that such as are of the larger breeds, and have been fattened well, sometimes weigh 150 lbs. the tail 50 lbs. These last very large sheep are kept in yards, where they are in no danger of injuring their tails, but in some places where they feed in the fields, the shepherds sometimes affix a thin piece of board to the underpart of the tail to prevent it being torn by the bushes or thickets, as it is covered underneath with thick wool like the upper part: sometimes the board is furnished with small wheels to enable the sheep to drag it along more easily. The mutton of these sheep is good, and the fat of the tail is the most grateful animal fat the writer ever tasted; it is rich and marrowy, and is never eaten alone, but it is mixed up in many dishes with lean meat, and in various ways employed as a substitute for butter and oil. The standing oriental dish, boiled rice, is peculiarly palatable when lubricated with fat from the tail of this remarkable species of sheep. Viewed in its various applications, the tail is an article of great use and delicacy and could be no unworthy offering."—*Extracted from a note in the Pictorial Bible.*

4. Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty.
5. They have made all thy *ship* boards of fir trees of Senir: they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee.
6. Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars: the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim.
7. Fine linen, with brodered work from Egypt, was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee.
8. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners: thy wise men, O Tyrus, that were in thee, were thy pilots.
9. The ancients of Gebal, and the wise men thereof, were in thee thy calkers: all the ships of the sea, with their mariners, were in thee to occupy thy merchandise.
10. They of Persia, and of Lud, and of Phut, were in thine army thy men of war; they hanged the shield and helmet in thee: they set forth thy comeliness.
11. The men of Arvad, with thine army, were upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadims were in thy towers: they hanged their shields upon thy walls round about; they have made thy beauty perfect.
12. Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs.
13. Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants: they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy market.
14. They of the house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with horses, and horsemen, and mules.
15. The men of Dedan were thy merchants; many isles were the merchandise of thine hand: they brought thee for a present horns of ivory and ebony,
16. Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making: they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds, purple, and brodered work, and fine linen, and coral, and agate.
17. Judah, and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants; they traded in thy market wheat of Minnith and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm.
18. Damascus was thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making, for the multitude of all riches; in the wine of Helbon, and white wool.

19. Dan also and Javan, going to and fro, occupied in thy fairs; bright iron, cassia, and calamus, were in thy market.
20. Dedan was thy merchant in precious clothes for chariots.
21. Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats; in these were they thy merchants.
22. The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold.
23. Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants.
24. These were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in blue clothes, and brodered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar, among thy merchandise.
25. The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market; and thou wast replenished, and made very glorious in the midst of the seas.
26. Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters; the east wind hath broken thee in the midst of the seas.
27. When thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many people; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches, and of thy merchandise.

And—

Ezek. xxviii. 12. Full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty.

13. Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold: the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created.
14. Thou art the anointed cherub that covereth; and I have set thee so: thou wast upon the holy mountain of God; thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire.
15. Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee.

From this description of the trade of Tyre, an opinion can be formed of its vast extent, and the great variety of merchandise sold there. White wool and blue cloths are distinctly mentioned; and it may be inferred that they, as well as other manufactures, would form part of the investments of David and Solomon in the trade with Ophir and Tarshish.

FROM DEAN PRIDEAUX'S CONNECTION OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS, ON THE ANCIENT COMMERCE OF THE EAST.

“ Ahaz continuing hardened in his iniquity, notwithstanding all which he had suffered for the punishment of it, would not seek the Lord his God, or return unto him from his evil ways; but putting his confidence rather in man, pillaged the temple of all the gold and silver that was found therein, and sent it to Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, to engage him to come to his assistance against his enemies, promising thereon to become his servant and to pay tribute to him.

“ The king of Assyria having an opportunity hereby offered unto him, of adding Syria and Palestine to his empire, readily laid hold of the invitation, and marched with a great army into those parts, where, having slain Rezin in battle, he took Damascus, and reduced all that country under his dominion. And hereby he put an end to the kingdom of the Syrians in Damascus, after it had lasted there for ten generations, i.e. from the time of Rezin, the son of Eliadah (1 Kings ii. 23. 25.) who first founded it, while Solomon was king over Israel.

“ After this, Tiglath Pileser (2 Kings xvi) marched against Pekah, and seized all that belonged to Israel beyond Jordan, and also all the land of Galilee, and then went forward towards Jerusalem; but rather to get more money from Ahaz than to afford him any real help. For he assisted him not for the recovery of any of those places which had been taken from him during the war, either by the Philistines, Edomites, or other enemies; but when he had got from him all that he could, (for the raising of which Ahaz cut the vessels of the temple into pieces, and melted them down), he marched back to Damascus, and there wintered, without doing any thing more for him. So that in reality he was rather distressed, than any way helped by this alliance, the land being almost as much exhausted by the presents and subsidies which were extorted from him by his pretended friend and ally, as it was by the ravages and pillages of his open enemies. And moreover, two lasting mischiefs followed thereon. For—

“ 1. Instead of two petty princes, whom he had afore for his neighbours, and with either of which he was well able to cope, he had now this mighty king for his borderer,

against whom no power of the land was sufficient to make any resistance, and the ill effect thereof both Israel and Judah did afterwards sufficiently feel, for it became at length to both of them the cause of their destruction.

"2. From this time the Jews were excluded all their traffic into the southern sea, which had hitherto been one of the chiefest foundations of their riches.

"This had been long carried on through the Red Sea and the Straits of Babelmandel, not only to the coasts of Africa on the west, but also to those of Arabia, Persia, and India on the east, and reaped a prodigious profit. King David was the first (about 1040 years before Christ) who began it; for having (2 Sam. viii. 14.) conquered the kingdom of Edom, and reduced it to a province of his empire, he thereby became master of the two seaports on the Red Sea, Elath and Esiongeber (1 Kings, ix. 26.) which then belonged to that kingdom; and seeing the advantage which might be made of the situation of these two places, he wisely took the benefit of it, and thereby begun his traffic.

"There are two places mentioned in scripture to and from whence it was carried on, that is Ophir and Tarshish. From the former of them, David in his time drew great profit. The three thousand talents of gold of Ophir, which is said (1 Chron. xxix. 4.) to have been given to the house of God, seem to be of that gold of Ophir which he himself had by his fleets, on several voyages, brought to him from thence; for what he had reserved for this work out of the spoils of war, the tributes of the conquered nations, and the public revenues of his kingdom is before mentioned, (Chron. xxiv. 14.) and amounted to a prodigious sum.*

"The three thousand talents of the gold of Ophir which he added, was over and above this, and out of his own proper goods or private estate, which he had besides what belonged

* This sum is so prodigious as gives reason to think that the talents whereby that sum is reckoned, were another sort of talents of far less value than the Mosaic talents, for what is said to be given by David (1 Chron. xxii. 14-16, and xxix. 3-5.) and contributed by his princes, (xxix. 6-8.) towards the building of the temple at Jerusalem, if valued by those talents, exceeded the value of eight hundred millions of our money, which was enough wherewith to have built all the temple of solid silver.

to him as king. And how he could increase that so far, as out of that only to be able to give so great a sum, can scarce any other way be accounted for, than by the great returns which were made from this traffic. For the gold alone amounted to above one and twenty millions of our money, (300 Hebrew talents of gold reduced to our money amount to £21,600,000,) besides the seven thousand talents of refined silver (1 Chron. xxix. 4.) which were included in the same gift.

“ After David, (1 Kings, ix. 26-28) Solomon carried on the same traffic to Ophir, and had from thence in one voyage (2 Chron. viii. 18.) four hundred and fifty talents of gold: and if Solomon got so much in one voyage, well might David have gained the sum above-mentioned in the several voyages which were made thither for him, from the time he had subdued the land of Edom to the time of his death, which was at least twenty-five years. But it must be acknowledged that Solomon very much improved this trade, not only by his greater wisdom, but also by his greater application to all the business of it: for not being perplexed and encumbered with such wars as his father David was, he had more leisure to attend thereto; and therefore, for the better settling of it, he (2 Chron. viii. 17) went in person to Elath and Esiongeber, and there took care, by his own inspection, for the building of his ships, the fortifying of both those ports, and the settling of every thing else which might tend to the successful carrying on of this traffic, not only to Ophir, but to all other parts where the sea, on which those ports lay, opened a passage. But his chiefest care was to plant those two towns with such inhabitants as might be best able to serve him in this design. For which purpose he brought thither from the sea-coasts of Palestine, as many as he could get of those who had been used to the sea, especially of the Tyrians, (1 Kings, ix. 27—2 Chron. viii. 18, and ix. 10-21), whom his friend and ally, Hiram, King of Tyre, from thence furnished him with in great numbers; and these were the most useful to him in this affair; for they being in those days, and for many years after, the most skilful of all others in sea affairs, they were the best able to navigate his ships, and conduct his fleets through long voyages. But the use of the compass not being then known, the way of navigation was in those days only by

coasting, which often made a voyage to be of three years which now* may be finished almost in three months. However, this trade succeeded so far, and grew to so high a pitch under the wise management of Solomon, that thereby he drew to these two ports, and from thence to Jerusalem, all the trade of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India, which was the chief fountain of those immense riches which he acquired, and whereby (1 Kings x. 23—2 Chron. ix. 22) he exceeded all the kings of the earth in his time as much as he did by his wisdom, so that he made silver to be at Jerusalem as the stones of the street, by reason of the great plenty with which it there abounded in his reign.

"After the division of the kingdom Edom, being of that part which remained to the house of David, they still continued to carry on this trade (1 Kings, xxii. 48—2 Chron. xx. 36) from those two ports, especially from Esiongeber, which they chiefly made use of till the time of Jehoshaphat. But he having there lost his fleet, which he had prepared to sail from thence to Ophir, in partnership with Ahaziah, King of Israel, this spoiled the credit of that harbour; for there being nigh the mouth of it a ridge of rocks, (and because of these rocks it had the name of Esiongeber, which signifies the back bone of a man, for these rocks resemble it)—as this fleet was passing out of the port, they were by a sudden gust of wind, which God sent on purpose for the punishment of this confederacy, driven upon those rocks, where (1 Kings, xxii. 48—2 Chron. 36, 37) they were all broken to pieces and lost. And therefore, for the avoiding the like mischief for the future, the station of the king's ships was thenceforth removed to Elath, from whence Jehoshaphat the next year after sent another fleet for the same place. For whereas it is said that he lost the first fleet for confederating with the idolatrous king of Israel, and we are told in another place (1 Kings, xxii. 49) of his sending forth a fleet for Ophir, in which he would not permit Ahaziah to have any partnership with him, this plainly proves the sending out of two fleets by Jehoshaphat, the first in partnership with Ahaziah, and the second without it.

* Dean Prideaux's work is dated 1715.

“ And thus this affair was carried on from the time of David till the death of Jehoshaphat: for till then the land of Edom was all in the hands of the kings of Judah, (1 Kings, xxii. 47) and was wholly governed by a deputy or viceroy there placed by them. But when Jehoram succeeded Jehoshaphat, and God, for the punishment of the exceeding great wickedness of that prince, had withdrawn his protection from him, Esau, according to the prophecy of Isaac, (Gen. xxvii. 40) did break the yoke of Jacob from off his neck, after having served him (as foretold by that prophecy) for several generations,—that is, from the time of David till then: for on Jehoram's having revolted from God, (2 Kings, viii. 20-22) the Edomites revolted from him, and, having expelled his viceroy, chose them a king of their own, and, under his conduct, recovered their ancient liberty, and were not after that any more subject to the kings of Judah. And from this time the Jewish traffic through the Red Sea had an interruption till the reign of Uzziah. But he, in the very beginning of his reign, having recovered Elath (2 Kings, xiv. 22) again to Judah, fortified it anew, and having driven out the Edomites, planted it again with his own people, and there renewed their old traffic, which was from thence carried on and continued till the reign of Ahaz. But then, Rezin, king of Damascus, having, in conjunction with Pekah, king of Israel, oppressed and weakened Judah to that degree which has been mentioned, he took the advantage of it to seize Elath, and driving out the Jews from thence, (2 Kings, xvi. 6), planted it with Syrians, purposing thereby to draw to himself the whole profit of the traffic of the southern seas, which the kings of Judah had hitherto reaped by having that port.

“ But the next year after Tiglath Pileser having conquered Rezin, and subdued the kingdom of Damascus, he seized with it Elath, as then belonging to his new conquest; and without having any regard to his friend and ally, king Ahaz, or the just claim which he had thereto, kept it ever after, and thereby put an end to all that great profit which the Jews till then had reaped from this traffic, and transferred it to the Syrians, which became a great diminution of their wealth. For although they did not always carry it on with the same full gales of prosperity as in the time of Solomon, yet it was

constantly, as long as they had it, of very great advantage to them, for it included all the trade of India, Persia, Africa, and Arabia, which was carried on through the Red Sea. But after Rezin had thus dispossessed them of it, they never had it any more restored to them, but were ever after wholly excluded from it. From thenceforth all the merchandise that came that way, instead of being brought to Jerusalem, was carried elsewhere; but at what place the Syrians fixed their principal mart for it, while it was in their hands, is nowhere said. But at length we find the whole of this trade engrossed by the Tyrians, who, managing it from the same port, made it by the way of Rhinocorura (Strabo, lib. 16) (a seaport town, lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine) centre all at Tyre, and from thence they furnished all the western parts of the world with the wares of Persia, India, Africa, and Arabia; which thus, by the way of the Red Sea, they traded to, and thereby they exceedingly enriched themselves during the Persian empire, under the favour and protection of whose kings they had the full possession of this trade. But when the Ptolemies prevailed in Egypt, they did, by building Berenice, Myos Hormos, and other ports on the western side of the Red Sea (Strabo, lib. 17) (for Elath and Esiongeber lay on the eastern) and by sending forth fleets from thence to all those countries to which the Tyrians traded from Elath, soon drew all this trade into that kingdom, and there fixed the chief mart of it at Alexandria (Strabo, lib. 17), which was thereby made the greatest mart in the world, and there it continued for a great many ages after; and all the marine traffic which the western parts of the world from that time had with Persia, India, Arabia, and the eastern coast of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red Sea and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was found a little above two hundred years since, of sailing to those parts by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. After this the Portuguese for some time managed this trade, but now it is in a manner wholly got into the hands of the English and Dutch. And this is a full account of the East India trade, from the time it was first begun by David and Solomon to our present age.

“ But though it be by all agreed that the trade to Ophir and Tarshish was the same that is now in the hands of our East India merchants, yet there are great disputes among learned men, in what part of the eastern world these two places lay. Some will have Ophir to have been the island of Zocatora, which lies on the eastern coast of Africa, a little without the Straits of Babelmandel; others will have it to be the island by ancients called Taprobana, now Ceylon; and for its being an island they have the authority of Eupolemus (an ancient author quoted by Eusebius) on their side: for speaking of David, he saith of him, ‘ That he built ships at Elath, a city of Arabia, and from thence sent metal-men to the island of Urphe (or Ophir), situated in the Red Sea, which was fruitful in yielding abundance of gold, and the metal-men brought it from thence to Judea.’ But this being a question no way to be decided but from the Scriptures, all that is to be observed from thence is,—

“ 1. That from Elath to Tarshish was a voyage of three years, going and coming (1 Kings, x. 22.—2 Chron. ix. 21) but in what compass of time the voyage to Ophir was completed, is not said; and that therefore Tarshish might be somewhere in the East Indies, but Ophir might be any where nearer home, within the reach of those seas.

“ 2. That the commodities brought from Tarshish (1 Kings, x. 22), were ‘ gold, and silver, and ivory, and apes, and peacocks;’ and those of Ophir (1 Kings, x. 11) were ‘ gold, almug trees, and precious stones.’ And therefore any place in the southern, or great Indian sea, at the distance of a then three years’ voyage from Elath, which can best furnish the merchant with ‘ gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks,’ may be guessed to be Tarshish of the Holy Scriptures; and any place within the compass of the southern ocean, that can best furnish them with ‘ gold, almug trees, and precious stones,’ and in that quantity of gold as Solomon brought home in one voyage, may be guessed to be the Ophir of the Holy Scriptures. Only this much I cannot forbear to say, that if the southern part of Arabia did furnish the world in those times with the best gold, and in the greatest quantity, (as some authors say) they that would have the Ophir

of the Holy Scriptures to be there situated, seem of all others to have the best foundation for their conjecture; but more than conjecture, no one can have in this matter."—*Prideaux: Connection, Part I., Vol. I., page 4, et seq.*

ANNO 259.—“Ptolemy Philadelphus, being intent to advance the riches of his kingdom, contrived to bring all the trade of the East that was by sea, into it: it had hitherto been managed by the Tyrians, and they carried it on by sea to Elath, and from thence by way of Rhinocorura to Tyre: these were both seaport towns; Elath on the east side of the Red Sea, and Rhinocorura at the bottom of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, near the mouth of that river which the Scriptures call the river of Egypt. Ptolemy contrived to build a city on the western side of the Red Sea, from whence he might set out his shipping for the carrying it on; but observing that the Red Sea, towards the bottom of the Gulph, was of very difficult and dangerous navigation, by reason of its rocks and shelves (Strabo, lib. 17, page 815), he built his city at as great a distance from that part of the sea as he could, placing it almost as far down as the confines of Ethiopia, and called it Berenice, from the name of his mother. But that not having a good harbour, Myos Hormus, in the neighbourhood, was afterwards found to be a more convenient port; and therefore, all the wares of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia, being brought thither by sea, they were carried from thence on camels' backs to Coptus on the Nile, and from thence down that river to Alexandria, from whence they were dispersed all over the West, and the wares of the West were carried back the same way into the East; by which means, the Tyrians being deprived of this profitable traffic, it became thenceforth fixed at Alexandria; and this city, from that time, continued to be the prime mart of all the trade that was carried on between the East and the West, for above seventeen hundred years after,

* With regard to the quantity of gold in those times, Agatharides (page 60, edit. Oxon), tells us that the Abileans and Cassandrians, in the southern parts of Arabia, had gold in that plenty among them, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for brass, and ten times its weight for silver; and that, in digging the earth, they found it in gobbets of pure gold, which needed no refining; and that the least of them were as big as olive stones, but others much larger—no other author speaks of any other place in the world where it was ever found in like plenty

till, a little above two centuries since, another passage from the West into those countries was found out by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. But the road from Coptus to the Red Sea being through deserts, where no water was to be had, nor any convenience of towns or houses for the lodging of passengers, Ptolemy, for the remedying of these inconveniences, drew a ditch from Coptus, which carried the water of the Nile all along by that road, and built on it several inns, at such proper distances as to afford every night lodgings and convenient refreshment, both for man and beast, to all that should pass that way. And as he thus projected to draw all the trade of the East and West into his kingdom, so he provided (Theocritus in Idyll. 17; Appianus in Præfatione), a very great fleet for the protecting of it, part of which he kept in the Red Sea, and part in the Mediterranean: that in the Mediterranean alone was very great, and some of the ships of it of a very unusual bigness, for (Athenæus, lib. 5, page 203), he had in it two ships of thirty banks of oars on a side, one of twenty banks of oars, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty-seven of seven, five of six, seventeen of five; and of four banks of oars and three banks of oars on a side, he had double the number of all these already mentioned; and he had, over and above, of the smaller sort of vessels a vast number. And by the strength of this fleet, he not only maintained and advanced the trade of his country, but also kept most of the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia (Theocritus in Idyll. 17), that is, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, and also the Cyclades, in thorough subjection to him as long as he lived.”—*Prideaux: Connection, Part II., Vol. III., page 99.*

“Anthony, wanting money to pay his army, sent all his horse to Palmyra to take the plunder of that city, instead of their pay. This was an ancient city of Syria, formerly called Tadmor. The Holy Scriptures, (1 Kings ix. 18—2 Chron. viii. 4), make mention of it by this name, and tell us that it was built in the desert by Solomon, king of Israel, (2 Chron. viii. 3), after his having vanquished and brought under him the kingdom of Hamath-zobah, in which it was situated. When the Greeks became masters of those countries, they

(Plin. lib. 5, p. 25), gave it the name of Palmyra, which it retained for several ages after, and under it, about the middle of the third century after Christ, grew famous by being made the seat of the Eastern empire under Odenathus and Zenobia. But when the Saracens became lords of the East, they again restored to it the old name of Tadmor, and that it hath ever since borne, even to this day. But it is now famous for nothing else but its ruins, which are the most august that are at present any where to be found, and these truly prove how great the magnificence, riches, and splendour of this ancient city was in former times. It is 127 miles north of Damascus, on this side the Euphrates, at the distance of a day's journey from that river. The situation of it is much like what that of Ammonia, in the desert of Lybia, is described to have been; for (Plin.), it is built on an island of firm land, which lies in the midst of a vast ocean of sand in sandy deserts, surrounding it on every side: its neighbourhood to the Euphrates having placed it on the confines of two potent empires, that of the Parthians on the East, and that of the Romans on the West, it happened often, that in times of war, they were grinded between both. But in times of peace they made themselves sufficient amends (Appian de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5), by their commerce with each of them, and the great riches which they gained thereby. For the caravans from Persia and India, which now unload at Aleppo, did in those days unload at Palmyra, and from thence the Eastern commodities which came overland being carried to the next port on the Mediterranean, were from thence transmitted into the West; and the Western commodities being, through the same way, brought from the said ports to this city, were there loaden on the same caravans, and on their return carried back and dispersed over all the East; so that at Tyre, and afterwards Alexandria, were the chief marts for the eastern trade that was carried on by sea, Palmyra was for some time the chief mart for so much of that trade as was carried on by land."—*Prideaux: Connection, Part II., Vol. IV., page 716.*

A.D. 25; HEROD, &c.—“This year, it being the 13th of the reign of Herod, great calamities fell upon the people of Judea. A long drought produced a famine and that famine a

pestilence, which swept away great numbers of the inhabitants. And whereas most of the flocks of Judea were consumed by the drought, so that there was not wool enough in the land for the clothing of the inhabitants against winter, Herod took care that such quantities were imported from foreign countries, that every one, before the approach of the cold season, was provided with sufficient to fence himself against all the severities of it."—*Prideaux: Connection, Part II., Vol. IV., page 852.*

SILK.—Professor Hurwitz states, that the first time we find silk mentioned is in Ezekiel; and from the manner it is mentioned, it must have been considered a very costly article.

Ezek. xvi. 10. I clothed thee with brodered work, and shod thee with badgers' skins, and I girded thee about with fine linen, and I covered thee with silk.

11. And I decked thee with ornaments, and I put bracelets upon thine hands, and a chain on thy neck.

12. And I put a jewel on thy forehead, and ear-rings in thine ears, and a beautiful crown upon thine head.

13. Thus wast thou decked with gold and silver, and thy raiment was of fine linen, and silk, and brodered work.

The following quotation from Prideaux, with the note appended to it, will best illustrate these manufactures:—

A.D. 28.—(*Part II., page 850.*)—"The name of Augustus, growing famous all over the world, the remotest nations of the North and the East, that is the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Indians, and the *Seres*, sent ambassadors with presents to him to pray his friendship; the last of which, Florus tells us, were four years on their journey, which is to be supposed coming and going. The *Seres* were the furthest people of the East, the same whom we now call the Chinese. They being anciently famous for the making of silk and silken manufactures, hence 'serica' became the name of silk, and 'sericum' of a silken garment, both among the Greek and the Latins."

To which the following note is added:—

"The *Seres* first used the way of making silk from the web of the silk worm. From them that name and thing came to the Persians, and from them to the Greeks and Latins.

The first time that any silk was brought into Greece, was on Alexander's having conquered Persia, and from thence it came into Italy in the flourishing times of the Roman empire. But it was a long while very dear in all these western parts, as being weight for weight of equal value with gold, a pound of the one costing a pound of the other: for the Persians took care to keep this manufacture for a long while wholly to themselves, not permitting the silk worms to be carried out of Persia, or any to pass from thence into the West that were skilled in the management of them; and thus it continued to the time of Justinian the Emperor, who died A.D. 565. He, looking on it as a great hardship that the subjects of his empire should buy this manufacture of the Persians at so dear a rate, in order to put an end to this imposition, sent two monks into India, to learn there how the silk trade was managed; and on their return to bring the silk worms with them, that so he might set up the manufacture in his own dominions. These monks on their return told him that the silk worms could not be brought so long a journey; but understanding from them that their eggs might, and that from them the worms might be propagated, he sent them back the second time to bring him of those eggs, who, having effected what they went about, and brought to Constantinople, on their return thither, great quantities of those eggs, from them have been propagated all the silk worms and silk trade which have since that time been there, or any where else in Europe. Till that time the ancients were so ignorant how silk was made, that it was a common notion among them that it grew on the tops of trees; but since that it hath been sufficiently made known that, though cotton be produced from trees, silk is nowhere made but by the web of the silk worm. For a long while silk was worn only by women, and it was thought a great instance of luxury and effeminacy for a man to have any part of his garment made of it, so that in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, as Tacitus tells us, (annal. lib. 2, cap. 33,) a law was made, '*ne vestis serica viros fœdaret,*' i.e. that no man should defile or dishonour himself by wearing silken garments. When the stuff was all of silk, it was called '*holosericum*'; when the woof only was silk, and the warp linen or woollen, it was called '*subsericum*.' When after-

wards it came into use for men to wear silk, it was at first only of the latter sort; that which was all silk, was for a long time left wholly to the use of the women, so that it was reckoned by Lampridius as one of the infamous parts of Heliogabalus's character, that he was the first man that wore 'holosericum.'"

Prideaux makes several references, confirming this statement. The preceding quotations relate to trade and manufactures in general.

"MILLAR'S HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT, FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SAXONS IN BRITAIN TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART," dwells more upon the woollen manufactures, the subject of this compilation.

Professor Millar says, under the head (chap. 8, p. 485,) "of the circumstances which promoted commerce and manufactures, and the arts, in modern Europe, and particularly in England"—

"The commerce of the ancient world was confined in a great measure to the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Before the invention of the mariner's compass, navigators were afraid of venturing to a great distance from land, and in those narrow seas found it easy, by small coasting expeditions, to carry on an extensive traffic. Not to mention what is related concerning the fleets of Sesostris and Solomon, which are said to have been built upon the Red Sea, we may ascribe to this cause the commerce of the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Athenians, the Rhodians, and many other states on the islands and upon the coast of the Mediterranean.

"From the time of Alexander the Great, when Greece had become one extensive kingdom, and had formed connections with Asia, the two narrow seas above-mentioned became the channel of a more extended commerce along the Indian Ocean, by which the valuable productions of the East were imported into Europe. It was in order to facilitate this commerce that the city of Alexandria is said to have been built.

"The same commerce was carried on, and probably much extended, in the flourishing periods of the Roman empire, when the numerous articles of Asiatic luxury were in such universal request among that opulent people. The decline of

the Roman power tended gradually to diminish that branch of trade, but did not entirely destroy it. Even after the downfall of Rome, when Italy had been often ravaged, and a great part of it subdued by the barbarous nations, there arose upon the sea coast some considerable towns, the inhabitants of which continued the ancient course of navigation, and still maintained a degree of traffic with India. The road, however, to that country was a good deal changed by the revolutions and disorders which happened in Egypt, and by the rise of the Saracen empire, so that the India trade was carried on less frequently by Alexandria, and most commonly by the Black Sea and part of Tartary, or by a middle way through the city of Bagdad.

“ During the barbarous period that succeeded the destruction of the Roman empire, the same cause which had formerly promoted the commerce of the Mediterranean, gave rise, in the northern part of Europe, to a small degree of traffic upon the narrow sea of the Baltic. The inhabitants of the southern coast of Scandinavia, and the northern parts of Germany, being necessitated, in that inhospitable climate, to fish for their subsistence, became early acquainted with navigation, and were thereby encouraged to exchange with each other the rude produce of the country. From the convenience of the situation, numbers of people were induced to reside in the neighbourhood, and trading towns were formed upon the coast, or in the mouths of the adjoining rivers. While they were thus advancing in navigation and commerce, they could hardly fail to make some progress in manufactures. By having a vent for the rude produce of that country, they must have had frequent opportunities of observing, that by bestowing a little labour upon their native commodities, they could draw a much greater profit upon the exchange of them. In this manner they were encouraged to occupy themselves in working up the raw materials, to acquire habits of industry, and to make proficiency in mechanical employments. If we examine the history of commercial nations, those especially of the ancient world, we shall find that this has been the usual course of their advancement, and that their trade and manufactures have been commonly derived from a convenient maritime situation, which, by affording them the

benefit of water carriage, opened a distant market for their goods, and tempted them to engage in foreign commerce.

“ The commerce of Italy seems accordingly to have been followed up by a rapid improvement of the mechanical arts. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, many of the Italian towns had arrived at a great perfection in manufactures; among which we may take notice of Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Pisa, Sienna, and Florence. It was from Italy that the art of making clocks and watches, as well as many other of the finer branches of manufactures, together with the most accurate method of keeping mercantile accounts, was afterwards communicated to the other nations of Europe.

“ The advancement of the common arts of life was naturally succeeded by that of the fine arts, and of the sciences; and Florence, which led the way in the former, was likewise the first that made considerable advances in the latter. That city, after having been aggrandised by trade, banking, and manufactures, began about the middle of the thirteenth century to discover a taste of elegance and refinement, and to promote the cultivation of letters. Charles of Anjou, who then obtained the kingdom of Naples as a donation from the Pope, and who was at the same time the feudal sovereign of Florence, is said to have been a zealous encourager of these liberal pursuits. The example of the Florentines was soon followed by the other states of Italy, in proportion as trade and manufactures had raised them to ease and opulence.*

* “ Florence owed her splendour to the woollen manufacture, with which she supplied the world. Its prevalence in that city cannot perhaps be more forcibly shown, than by an incidental observation made by Machiavelli, in the narrative of his perambulation of the city at the period of the plague of 1527: the circumstance he mentions as, on that occasion, first occurring, and most powerfully striking him, was the stillness prevailing in place of the former sounds of the preparation of this manufacture:—‘*Dove per lo strepito de' camati fischi e ragionamenti ciompeschi ass'rdare quasi solea, trovai grande e non molto desiderato silenzio.*’—(*Descrizione della Peste di Firenze dell' anno 1527.*)—Could he revisit his native city, he would still find the same silence reigning, not proceeding from plague, nor yet from the diversion of the channel of the East India trade, nor yet from cheaper labour, nor from want of acquirable capital, art, or talent for such an object. The spirit of the woollen manufacture, by a kind of Pythagorean transmigration, now resides in France, Flanders, and England. How has it escaped from Florence? Can any reason be assigned but the absence of a sufficient safeguard from external intrusion and subversion?

“ Other passages may be found generally in Machiavelli, as strongly contrasting

" The intercourse of those Italian states with some of the opulent nations of the East, in consequence of the Crusades, or of other casual events, may have contributed something towards the revival of letters in Europe; but the operation of this accidental circumstance must have been entirely subordinate to the great natural cause of improvement already suggested. While the inhabitants of Europe continued rude and barbarous, they were not likely to procure much knowledge by their transient or hostile communication with Asia; but after they had acquired a taste for the cultivation of the arts and sciences, they doubtless found instructors in that part of the world.

" As the people upon the coast of the Baltic inhabited a poorer country, the produce of which was not so easily wrought up into valuable manufactures, they made a proportionably slower progress in the mechanical arts; though, by continuing to export their native commodities, they acquired a degree of wealth, and many of their towns became large and powerful. Having been much oppressed and obstructed in their trade by the Barons, and military people in their neighbourhood, they were led by degrees into joint measures for their own defence, and, about the twelfth century, entered into that famous Hanseatic league, which being found of great advantage to the commercial interests, was at length rendered so extensive, as to include many cities in other parts of Europe.

" As the situation of towns upon the coast of a narrow sea was favourable to foreign commerce, a country intersected by many navigable rivers gave a similar encouragement to inland trade, and thence likewise to manufactures. As inland trade, however, cannot be rendered very extensive without greater expense than is necessary to the trade of a maritime town, that all the inhabitants may have the benefit of a market, canals became requisite where the river navigation is cut off; roads must be made, where water carriage is impracticable; ma-

the desolation of lost commerce with its past activity and life. — 'Le pulite e belle contrade, che piene di ricchi e nobili cittadini essere solevano, sono ora puzzolenti e brutte, di poveri ripiene; per la improntitudine de' quali e paurose strida difficilmente e con timore si va. Sono serrate le botteghe, gli esercizi fermi, i Fori tolti via, prostrate le leggi. I ragionamenti ch'esser solevano in piazza onorevoli, e in mercato utili, in cose miserabili e meste si convertono.' — *Quarterly Review*, January, 1821, p. 296.

chinery must be constructed, and cattle fit for draught must be procured and maintained. It may be expected, therefore, that inland trade will be improved more slowly than the commerce which is carried on along the sea coast; but as the former holds out a market to the inhabitants of a wider country, it is apt at length to produce a more extensive improvement of manufactures.

“ We accordingly find that after the towns of Italy, and those upon the coast of the Baltic, the part of Europe which made the quickest advances in trade was the Netherlands, where the number of navigable rivers, which divide themselves into many different branches, and the general flatness of the country, which made it easy to extend the navigation by canals, encouraged the inhabitants to employ themselves in the manufacture of their natural productions.

“ Besides the facility of water carriage, the inhabitants of the Netherlands appear to have derived another advantage from the nature of their soil. The two most considerable branches of manufacture, which contribute to supply the conveniences or luxuries of any people, are the making of linen and of woollen cloths. With regard to the former of these branches, that country seems fitted to produce the raw material in the greatest perfection. As early as the tenth century, we accordingly find that the people had, by this peculiar circumstance, been excited to attempt the manufacture of linens; and that in order to promote an inland trade of this kind, which supposes that the commodity must often be carried to a considerable distance, Baldwin the younger, the hereditary count of Flanders, established fairs and markets in particular towns, as the most convenient places of rendezvous between the merchants and their customers.

“ After the Flemings had made some progress in this trade, and when, of consequence, individuals among them had acquired some stock, as well as habits of industry, they also endeavoured to supply the demand for woollen manufactures, which required no very different species of skill and dexterity from what they had already attained. In this employment, however, they were subjected to greater inconveniency, as, after pushing it to any considerable extent, they were under the necessity of purchasing the rude materials from foreign

nations. This obliged them to carry on a regular trade with Spain, and with Britain, the two countries in Europe in which wool was produced in the greatest abundance. The union, however, of the sovereignty of Spain with that of the Netherlands, which happened in the person of the Emperor Charles V., contributed in part to remove that inconveniency, by securing to the latter country the wool produced by the former; and the Spanish monarch, who saw the rude materials manufactured within his own dominions, had an opportunity of protecting and encouraging every branch of the labour connected with that employment. From this time the woollen and linen manufactures of the Netherlands came to be in the same flourishing condition.

“ But while this part of Europe enjoyed such advantages for inland trade, it was not entirely excluded from a share in foreign commerce by means of Antwerp, and of some other maritime towns in the neighbourhood. The inhabitants of Italy and of the countries on the coast of the Baltic, having reciprocally a demand for the commodities produced in such different climates, were led by degrees into a regular traffic. As the ships employed in this extensive navigation found a convenient middle station in the ports of the Netherlands, the merchants of this country were furnished with opportunities of transporting their linen and woollen cloths, both to the southern and northern parts of Europe, and a sure market was thus opened for these valuable commodities. It merits attention that the opulence thus acquired by Flanders and the neighbouring provinces of the Low Country, had the same effect as in Italy,—of giving encouragement to literature and to the cultivation of the fine arts. The rise of the Flemish painters was later than that of the Italian, because the trade of the Netherlands was of a posterior date; and their not attaining the same perfection may, among other causes, be ascribed to this circumstance,—that the flourishing trade of that country was of shorter duration.

“ The encouragement given in the Netherlands to painting was extended also to music, and was productive of a similar proficiency in that art. It is observed that the Flemings were accustomed in this period to supply the rest of Europe with musicians, as is done in our day by the Italians (*vide* Re-

flections on Poetry, Painting, and Music, by the Abbé du Bos).

“ Towards the end of the sixteenth, and the beginning of the seventeenth century, three great events concurred to produce a remarkable revolution upon the state of trade and manufactures in general, and that of Europe in particular.

“ 1. The first of these was the invention of the mariner's compass, which changed the whole system of navigation, by enabling navigators to find their way with certainty in the wide ocean, to undertake more distant expeditions, and to complete them with much greater quickness. When this discovery had been properly ascertained, and reduced to practice, those who inhabited the coast of a narrow sea had no longer that superiority with respect to commerce which they formerly possessed; for whatever advantages they might have in a small coasting navigation, these were overbalanced by the inconveniences of their situation, whenever they had occasion to sail beyond those adjacent capes and promontories, by which they were limited and circumscribed. The harbours which became then most favourable to commerce were such as had formerly been least so : those which were the furthest removed from straits or dangerous shores, and, by their distance from opposite lands, admitted the freest passage to every quarter of the globe.

“ 2. The discovery of America, and the opening of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, which may be regarded as a consequence of the preceding improvement in navigation, contributed still further to change the course of European trade. By these discoveries, a set of new and magnificent objects of commerce was presented, and Europe began to entertain the prospect of forming settlements in distant countries; of trading with nations in various climates, producing a proportionate variety of commodities; and of maintaining an easy correspondence between the remotest parts of the world. The merchants of Italy and of the northern parts of Germany were naturally left behind in the prosecution of these magnificent views; their situation, hemmed in by the coast of the Baltic or of the Mediterranean, was particularly unfavourable for that new species of trade; they had besides a reluctance, we may suppose, to abandon their old

habits, and to relinquish that settled traffic in which they had been long engaged, for the new and hazardous adventures which were then pointed out to them. Adhering, therefore, to their former course, they found their profits decrease according as the new commerce became considerable, and their commercial importance was at length in a great measure sunk and annihilated.

" 3. The violent shock given by the Spanish government to the trading towns of the Netherlands, occasioned, about this period, a change in the manufactures of Europe, no less remarkable than the two foregoing circumstances produced in its commerce.

" Philip the Second of Spain embraced the narrow and cruel policy of his father Charles the Fifth, in attempting to extirpate the doctrines of Luther throughout his dominions, at the same time that he added a bigotry peculiar to himself, which led him to seek the accomplishment of his purpose by measures yet more imprudent and sanguinary. The doctrines of the Reformation had been spread very universally in the Netherlands, and had been adopted with a zeal not inferior to that which appeared in any other part of Europe. Philip employed the whole force of the Spanish monarchy, in order to subdue that spirit of religious innovation, and, after a long and obstinate struggle, he at last prevailed; but it was by extirpating a great part of the inhabitants, and ruining the manufactures of the country. The most independent and spirited, that is, the most active and skilful part of the manufacturers, disdaining to submit to a tyranny by which they were oppressed in their most valuable rights, fled from their native country, and finding a refuge in other European nations, carried along with them that knowledge and dexterity in manufactures, and those habits of industry, which they possessed in so eminent a degree.

" Of all the European nations, Great Britain was in a condition to reap the most immediate profit from these important changes in the state of commerce and manufactures.

" England has long enjoyed the peculiar advantage of rearing a greater number of Sheep, and producing larger quantities of Wool fit for manufacture, than most other parts of the world. This is probably derived from the flatness of the

country, by which a great part of it is plentifully supplied with moisture, and from the moderate temperature of the climate, both of which circumstances appear favourable to the production of pasture, and to the proper cultivation of sheep. But whatever be the causes of it, the fact is certain, that, Spain excepted, no other country can, in this particular, be brought in competition with England.*

“ Particular mention is made of English wool, even when Britain was a Roman province; and in the early parts of our history the exportation of that commodity was a considerable article of commerce. What is remarkable, the English wool of former times appears to have been of a finer quality than at present, and there is even reason to believe that it was held superior to the Spanish. Of this extraordinary fact it seems difficult to give any satisfactory account. I am credibly informed that the improvements made of late years in the pasture grounds of England have greatly debased the quality of the wool, though, by the increase of the quantity, they have sufficiently indemnified the proprietors.

“ By possessing the raw material in great plenty, the English appear to have been incited at an early period to make some attempts towards the fabrication of it. The woollen cloth of England is taken notice of while the country was under the dominion of the Romans; the disorders which followed, while the Saxons were subduing the country, and during the subsequent ravages of the Danes, gave great interruption to manufactures; but soon after the Norman conquest, and particularly in the reigns of Henry the Third and Edward the First, that of woollen cloth appears to have been an object of attention.

“ The flourishing reign of Edward III. was extremely favourable to improvements, and that enterprising monarch, notwithstanding his ardour in the pursuit of military glory, was attentive to reform the internal policy of the kingdom, and gave particular encouragement to the woollen manufacture; he invited and protected foreign manufacturers, and in his reign a number of woollen weavers, with their families,

* This was written before Merino Sheep had been introduced, and had spread over the whole of Prussia, Germany, and Russia, as well as over the vast extent of Australia.

time and settled in England. An Act of Parliament was made, which prohibited the wearing of foreign cloth, and another by which the exportation of wool was declared to be felony. These regulations, however narrow the principles upon which they were built, were certainly framed with the best intentions; but they would have little or no effect, as the English at that time were neither capable of manufacturing the whole of their wool, nor even of supplying their own demand for woollen cloth: the crown, therefore, in virtue of his dispensing power, was accustomed to relieve the raisers of wool, by granting occasionally to individuals a licence for exportation, and as a dispensation in this case was absolutely necessary to procure a market for the commodity, it became the source of a revenue to the sovereign, who obtained a price for every licence which he bestowed.

"The woollen trade of England made considerable advances in the reign of Henry the Seventh, when, after a long course of civil dissensions, the people began to enjoy tranquillity under a prince, who favoured and protected the arts of peace. About this time were set on foot the coarse woollen manufactures of Yorkshire, particularly at Wakefield, Leeds, and Halifax; places remarkably well adapted to that species of work, from the plenty of coal and the numerous springs of water with which they are supplied.

"The extension of manufactures about this period became so considerable as to produce an alteration in the whole face of the country, and in particular gave rise to remarkable improvements in husbandry, and in the different arts connected with it. The enlargement of towns and villages composed of tradesmen and merchants, could not fail to increase the demand for provisions in the neighbourhood, and, by enhancing the value of every article raised by the farmers, to advance the profit of their employment. From this improvement of their circumstances, the tenants were soon enabled, by offering an additional rent, to procure leases for a term of years; and the master, whose daily expenses were increased by the progress of trade and luxury, was content to receive a pecuniary compensation for the loss of that authority over his dependants which he was obliged to relinquish. Thus the freedom and independence which the

mercantile and manufacturing people derived from the nature of their employment, was, in some measure, communicated to the peasantry, who, instead of remaining tenants-at-will, were secured for a limited term, in the possession of their farms.

“ In consequence of these changes, the number of villeins in England was greatly diminished in the reign of Henry the Seventh, and before the accession of James the First, that class of men had entirely disappeared. Without any public law upon the subject, their condition was gradually improved by particular bargains with their masters ; and, according as their opulence enabled them to purchase higher privileges, they acquired longer leases, or were converted into copyholders or freeholders.

“ As from this time the English continued with unremitting ardour to prosecute their improvements, and were continually advancing in opulence, as well as in skill and dexterity, and in the habits of industry, it was to be expected that in the long run the possession of the rude material of the woollen manufacture would give them a manifest superiority in that branch of business, and put it in their power to undersell other nations who had not the same advantage.

“ In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that severe blow was given to the trade of the Low Countries, by which every branch of manufacture was greatly impaired, and that of woollen cloth was totally destroyed. Thus the destruction of the woollen trade of the Netherlands happened at the very critical period when the English were come to be in a condition of turning that event to their own emolument. The manufacturers who had been driven from their native land found a welcome refuge from Queen Elizabeth, and the greater part of them took up their residence in England, so that the inhabitants of the former country became in the highest degree instrumental in promoting the trade of the latter, instead of retarding or depressing it by that superiority of industry and skill, and that uninterrupted possession of the market which they had long maintained.

“ In Spain, the only other country in Europe enjoying similar advantages to those of England, the improvement of the woollen manufacture was prevented by a variety of concurring

circumstances. The rooted animosity between the professors of the Christian and Mahometan religions, cherished by the remembrance of many acts of cruelty and oppression, had excited Ferdinand of Arragon, when he became master of the country, to persecute the Moors, the only industrious part of the inhabitants. In a subsequent reign they were entirely extirpated. The same imprudent and barbarous policy interrupted and discouraged the trade of the Netherlands; and after these two fatal events, the sudden importation of gold and silver into Spain, in consequence of the possession of America, completed the destruction of industry among the people, by raising individuals to sudden wealth, and making them despise the slow and distant returns of trade and manufactures.

“ Upon the ruin of the Spanish Netherlands were established the fine woollen manufactures of Wiltshire and some of the neighbouring counties, — those parts of England which produced the greatest number of sheep, and in which the superior quality of the wool was most remarkable. The rapid improvements in that great branch of manufacture, which became conspicuous in England, had a natural tendency to introduce other branches more or less connected with it; and when a great body of the people had acquired industry and skill in one sort of employment, it was not very difficult, as occasion required, to extend their application to other trades and professions.

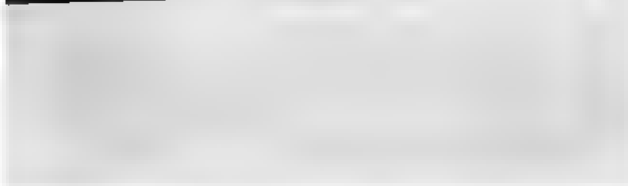
“ While these circumstances bestowed upon England a superiority in manufactures, she began to enjoy advantages no less conspicuous with regard to navigation and commerce. When the people of Europe had become qualified for extensive naval undertakings, the distance of Britain from the Continent, and her situation as an island, afforded her a superiority to most other countries, in the number of such harbours as have a free communication with all parts of the globe. Her insular situation was at the same time no less advantageous with respect to inland trade, from the numerous bays and rivers, which, by intersecting the country in different places, extended the benefit of water carriage to the greater part of the inhabitants. As the bulk of the people became thus familiar with the dangers and vicissitudes incident to

those who live upon the water, they acquired habits which fitted them for a sea-faring life, and rendered them dexterous in those arts which are subservient to navigation, the great instrument of commerce. In these circumstances there has been formed a numerous body of sailors, equally prepared for commercial and for military enterprises. As in the early state of the feudal nations the great body of the people were, without labour or expense, qualified for all the services of the field; so in Britain, a great proportion of the inhabitants, after the advancement of commerce, became a sort of naval militia, ready upon all occasions for the equipment of her fleets, and, without the assistance of Navigation Acts, or other precautions of the legislature, fully sufficient for the defence of the country.

“ These advantages, however, were rendered more stable and permanent by the great extent of this island, superior to that of most others upon the globe. This, as it united the inhabitants in one great state, made them capable of exerting a force adequate to the protection of its commerce and manufactures.

“ To the extent of her dominions, Great Britain is indebted for her long continued prosperity. The commercial states, both in ancient and modern times, which were formed in islands of small extent, have been frequently overturned in a short time, either by the jealousy of neighbours, or by accidental collision with more powerful nations.

“ That the Government of England has had a peculiar tendency to promote her trade and manufactures, it is impossible to doubt. As the inhabitants are better secured in their property, and protected from oppressive taxes, than many other European kingdoms, it is natural to suppose that their industry was excited by the certain prospect of enjoying whatever they should acquire. Though the English constitution was formerly destitute of many improvements, which it has now happily received, yet, compared with other extensive governments of Europe in that age, it may be regarded as a system of liberty.”







CHAPTER I.

ABRIDGMENT OF SMITH'S MEMOIRS OF WOOL.

Sheep's Wool Manufacture mentioned in the Old Testament—Huetius's History—First mention in England—Sheep in Edgar's Reign—From Richard I. to Edward VI.—Merchants of the Staple—Cloth made in England before 1224—Customs on Woollen and Worsted Exported—Jack of Newberry—Extension of Manufacture—Merchant Adventurers—From Edward VI. to 1568—Forced Reduction of Rents and of the Prices of Wool—Wide Spread of the Woollen Manufacture—Blackwell Hall—Corporation of German Merchant Adventurers—From 1568 to Queen Elizabeth—French and Flemish Refugees—From James I. to William and Mary—Cockayne's Patent—Exportation of Wool prohibited—Spanish Wool—Sir Josiah Child—Woollen Manufacture on the Continent—From William and Mary to the end of King William's Reign—East India Company, from 1702 to 1755—Woollen Exports—1718 to 1724—1738 to 1743—1744 to 1753.

FROM THE CREATION OF THE WORLD TO THE REIGN OF RICHARD I.

SHEEP are one species of cattle, which God, in the first generation of things, commanded the earth to produce and sustain, with a power to increase and multiply after their kind. Of these, Abel, the second son of our grand parent Adam, became eminently a keeper; and after him, Cain's grandson, Jabal. They were, no doubt, become very numerous before the flood; but all perished in those waters, except a reserve of seven in the ark; one, as is supposed, for the sacrifice which Noah was afterwards to offer; the other six to replenish the new world, by breeding abundantly, in proportion to their future use, for the service of God and man; viz. their carcasses for sacrifice and food, their wool and skins for clothing Noah and his descendants. As such, they constituted no small part of the wealth and grandeur of the

greatest personages in the Old Testament ; where, likewise, are short hints about spinning wool, weaving, fulling, and dyeing cloth. These, chiefly in Egypt and Asia, that part of the globe being first peopled ; whence succeeding generations spread themselves by degrees throughout the face of the whole earth ; art and science ; some animals and vegetables, following, though but slowly, and by unequal paces.

The next writers (from the sacred penmen) who make mention of these cattle, their end and use, their kinds and qualities, extend the history of them from Asia to Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Gaul ; deriving still the origin of woollen manufacture from Egypt and the most eastern part of the world. Their accounts, indeed, like most others that go far back into antiquity, are both brief and superficial. Wherefore, the learned Huetius, writing an history which he entitled, “ Of the Commerce, as well as Navigation, of the Antients,” was but very sparingly furnished with these kind of memoirs ; rather of naval exploits. And, albeit, we must suppose, that besides food, materials for raiment were no inconsiderable articles of exchange between the nations of which he treats ; yet hath he distinguished (in Europe) under the heads of “ wool and cloth,” only Spain and Poland ; and for what relates to Britain, he speaks rather negatively, by assigning to the island and its inhabitants, with some degree of minuteness, other produce and traffic, without a single word of either, or so much as sheep ; whereof the country, most probably, contained none, or but very few, till some time after the Romans possessed, or perhaps had left it. The first mention of sheep in English records or history being not till about the beginning of the eighth century.

And though the silence of chronicles is far from being a full proof in this case, yet there is reason to think they could not be very numerous before Edgar the Peaceable took such effectual measures to compass the destruction of their great destroyers, wolves, that there was not one of those ravenous creatures left in the kingdom. This happened about the middle of the tenth century ; after which, in a little more than two hundred years, viz. in the reign of Richard I., they were so far increased that wool was become a capital commodity of the nation.

SMITH'S REMARKS.

"Here, then, let it be considered, *à priori*, how far the notion is likely to be well founded, which attributes to England and Ireland, not only a vast superiority beyond all other parts of the earth, in sheep and wool, but almost the sole power of furnishing mankind with that necessary for clothing, woollen manufacture. If this be really the peculiar happy circumstance of these two kingdoms, may we not well inquire (the premises especially considered), by what accident or contrivance it hath come to pass? Shall we give implicitly into such a belief, without demanding some good natural reason, or well attested history in support of it? But what is that reason? Where is the history, except in legendary writings of certain English pamphleteers, comparatively of no antiquity, and of still less account as authors?"

FROM RICHARD I. TO EDWARD VI.

No sooner was wool in England a plentiful and valuable commodity, but it fell a prey, first, to arbitrary power; next, to that monopolist spirit which began with commerce, as a master science, and for a long time made a chief part of trading policy. And although many articles and branches of traffic have been emancipated, and at full liberty, yet hath English wool been almost constantly held in bondage, more or less, and never more than from the restoration downwards.

Merchants at first paid a fine to the crown for leave to export wool, without which leave and fine, the same was liable to be confiscated: this fine was grown up into a custom of half a mark the sack, when Edward I. by his sole power, levied thereon forty shillings.

But against such malevolent of wool (for so it was called), the commonalty remonstrating, very justly and stoutly, it was therefore remitted, but again, soon after, resumed; in which fluctuating way, of resumption and remission, it continued to be a matter of strife between the prince and people, from Edward I. to the 22d of Edward III., although often in that interval solemnly disclaimed on the part of the crown.

Besides the malevolent of wools, another grievance obtained early against growers, namely, a deceitful method of weighing, called *auncel*, from which they were not soon nor easily delivered, although, for this end, they had assistance from the

crown, which suffered thereby alike in its customs, as did subjects in their property.

Further, the crown had frequently (in the time of Edward III. especially), a pre-emption of wools, which could not fail of being injurious to growers: neither was this all; by statute (37 Henry VIII.), merchants of the staple, together with the richest English clothiers, appear to have obtained a considerable monopoly of it, but not a complete one. For though by this statute it was totally disallowed "to buy or bargain for wool, on account of any merchant stranger, or on account of any other than a merchant of the staple, or a maker of cloth or yarn, in Kent or twenty-seven shires;" yet the act, extending not to the whole kingdom, and merchants of the staple buying to sell again, as well for exportation as for home use, that making to growers somewhat of a double market for their produce, it was no doubt a help to them in the price of it.

Having seen how the material was treated in this period, let us turn back, and trace the manufacture and its exportation trade from this kingdom. For with the growth of wool in England, or, however, very soon after, commenced in a degree, the art of manufacturing it: cloths being certainly there made, not only in, but long before the year 1224: and towards the close of the thirteenth century, one Thomas Cole was distinguished by the name of the rich clothier of Reading, in Berkshire.

In the year 1331, and again in 1336, Edward III. gave protection and encouragement to several foreign manufacturers in England, about which time it was made felony by statute to transport wool; but that was only till it should be otherwise ordained, and therefore is to be construed chiefly as a device for raising money upon the subject; accordingly that statute was presently dispensed with, in consideration of money paid to the crown, and soon after wholly vacated by act of Parliament, which gave the king a custom, in lieu of the prohibition.

The manufacture increasing, 'twas thought proper to impose a custom also on cloths and worsteds exported, against which a petition was presented in the 21st of this reign, but rejected; giving for reason "that such profit might well be taken of cloths wrought within the realm, and carried forth, as of the wools of the land: rateable the cloth, as the sack."

In the 27th of this reign, to compensate still more for the custom lost on wool, as then manufactured at home, which aforetime was wont to be exported raw, a subsidy was laid on every cloth made within the realm to be sold. The woollen exports of the next year (28 Edward III.) were in quantity treble, and in value above one-third, more than the imports of cloth in that same year.

In the 14th and 15th of Richard II., the merchants petitioned to transport kerseys for the old custom, which was not granted. In the 3rd of Henry V. was a petition that strait cloths, called dozens of Devonshire and Cornwall, might pay custom after the rate of broad cloths; in the 10th of Henry VI., that two persons of every hundred within the realm might be commissioned to search the due making of woollen cloths, and to seal the same; in the 20th, were appointed by statute, four wardens of worsted weavers for the city of Norwich, and two more for the county of Norfolk; in the 23rd, two more for that county and Suffolk; in the 27th was a provisional act, "in case woollen cloths made in England should not be accepted in Brabant, Holland, and Zealand."

The manufacture having, as it was thought, increased to a proper pitch for that purpose, the importation of woollen cloths, caps, &c., was totally prohibited in the 3rd of Edward IV.; and in the 7th of the same reign, the wardens of worsted weavers at Norwich were augmented in number, from four to eight. In the 8th, was prescribed by statute the length, breadth, and weight, of both strait and broad cloths, made in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; in the 1st of Richard III., of all cloths, except those made in Winchester and Salisbury.

In 1493, all commerce being suspended between the subjects of England and Flanders, the mart of English cloths was transferred from Antwerp to Calais; till, in 1496, a treaty was concluded with the Arch-Duke Philip, whereby he desisted from the duty of a florin, which before he had exacted on every piece of English cloth brought into his dominions.

In the beginning of Henry VIII. flourished at Newberry, in Berkshire, John Wincheomb, commonly called Jack of Newberry, one of the greatest clothiers that ever was in England,

he keeping a hundred looms in his house, and in the expedition to Flodden-field, against the Scots, marched a hundred of his own men, all armed and clothed at his own expense. During this reign, passed sundry laws relating to woollen manufacture ; some general, others particular, viz., for Cornwall, Devonshire, North Wales, Lancashire, Cheshire, Yarmouth, Lynn, Suffolk, Worcestershire, and York. In the 14th and 15th of it, it is particularly mentioned, that since the 7th of Edward IV. the making of worsteds, says, and stammins was greatly increased in the city of Norwich and county of Norfolk, and that the same was busily practised both at Yarmouth and Lynn ; and which is more to be remarked, Henry having entered into a league with France against the Emperor, in consequence whereof trade was interrupted with the Low Countries, and the merchants would buy no more cloth which they could not vend, the clothiers, therefore, rose in arms, which shows evidently the dependance of England at this time on a foreign trade for cloth and other woollen goods, and more with other countries, even at this time, than with France. There were then indeed in the kingdom three considerable companies of merchants trading largely therein, viz., those of the Still-yard, foreigners ; the Merchants of the Staple ; and the Merchant Adventurers, English.*

SMITH'S REMARKS.

“ The foregoing particulars, discovering not only the high antiquity of cloth-making in England, viz., in and before the reign of Henry III. but from Edward III. a swift progress and vast increase both of woollen manufacture and a foreign trade for it, they are to be noted against writers on this subject, who too generally have either ascribed falsely to Edward III. its first beginning, together with the policy of prohibiting absolutely the exportation of wool ; reckoning an uninterrupted continuance of such prohibition from his time : or otherwise have dated the origin of woollen manufacture and its exportation trade, especially the latter, no higher than the 12th of Elizabeth.

* There were two companies of merchants, the Merchant Adventurers of London, formerly called the brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket, of Canterbury, and who, it appears, obtained certain privileges in the year 1248. The other company, the English Merchant Adventurers, were established, it is stated, in 1403. Henry IV. gave them certain privileges.

"Here, then, if we may be indulged a conjecture touching the origin of wool-sacks in the House of Lords, as a notable memorial of great consequence, we should imagine it to have been, if at all, sometime during this struggle ; to perpetuate the remembrance of a noble stand made upon that occasion ; and of an allowed indefeasible right in the subject not to be saddled with any tax or imposition by other authority than that of Parliament. This is not unworthy, nor altogether improbable. Another reason assigned, cannot be the true one, because they had been immemorably there ; and by tradition, whether well grounded or not, as a remembrance or token of somewhat considerable, before it was so much thought of, to prohibit absolutely the exportation of wool from this realm."

FROM EDWARD VI. TO THE YEAR 1568.

A. D. 1549. Not only lands were enclosed, and the growth of wool increased, but the woollen trade flourished ; nevertheless, because rents were consequently advanced, and also, for another reason, the price of wool, therefore certain farmers and manufacturers, instigated by suppressed monks, took up arms, in Norfolk particularly ; and the seditious there, send their complaints to court, the council (for their pacification) had recourse to two extraordinary expedients ; namely "that for the present rents should be reduced to what they had been forty years before ;" and that "commissioners should cause clothiers to take what wool they wanted, at a less price, by one third, than they had given the foregoing year."

SMITH'S REMARKS.

"We call these extraordinary expedients ; because, though a debasing of coin was one reason why the price of all things was nominally advanced at this time, yet that affecting equally at least, both landlords and tenants, as any other person whatsoever, 'twas excessively hard and unjust to go about to abridge one of his rent, the other in selling his wool ; since those were their dependencies respectively, for paying where they owed, and for purchasing what they wanted, and 'twas doubly hard upon land-owners, because they, in the upshot, must lose what tenants suffered by not receiving the natural value of their wool ; while with regard to clothiers, who advanced their commodities in proportion as coin was debased, this expedient was no way necessary ; they, for example, at Blackwell Hall, set prices on their cloths (in English money) according to the price it bore abroad, and not according

to the (nominal) valuation thereof given and proclaimed by the Prince: for, whereas in consequence of this debasement, twenty-six English shillings were but equal to thirteen Flemish; what cloth was but worth thirteen such shillings, they would not sell in Blackwell Hall for less than twenty-six English; and that was sufficient reason why they ought not to have been commissioned to take wool for one-third less, which in selling of cloth was valued at one-third more, besides a profit in draping.

“ The woollen manufacture, by this time, in several branches of old drapery, appears to have spread itself, besides London and the suburbs, into Berkshire, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, Suffolk, Norwich, Norfolk, Winchester, Sarum, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Worcester and Worcestershire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, North and South Wales, Lancashire, Cheshire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, the Bishopric of Durham, York and Yorkshire; Halifax, most eminently.

“ In 1552, the corporation of German merchants, living in the Still-yard, who, the foregoing year, had shipped out forty-four thousand cloths, was dissolved, at the instance of the Merchant Adventurers, their rivals; who, in the same year, sent out forty thousand broad cloths at one shipping. Many things were objected to the merchants of the Still-yard, whose greatest fault seems to have been their privilege, by ancient grant or charter, of paying only one and a quarter on the hundred, for their exports and imports; which was judged to be in diminution of the King's revenue. However, they were restored for a time by Queen Mary; in whose reign the cloth trade was grown to be so very great in England, that exporting of raw wool was almost wholly decayed; and the revenue arising from customs on that head, reduced in a manner to nothing. Wherefore, in 1557, 'twas thought no bad policy to raise the custom on cloth, from 14d. to 6s. 8d. to be paid by Englishmen, and 13s. 4d. by strangers transporting the same; whence (says Mr. Wheeler) 'the custom on cloth became immediately equal to the custom on wool, when most.' And this is credible from Camden's account of the English trade abroad for woollen manufacture, so early in Queen Elizabeth's reign, as the year 1564, who says (and speaks it assuredly from authentic accounts) to Antwerp singly, it was not less in value than five millions of gold yearly; viz., at the very lowest reckoning, seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling; when there was besides, an exportation of woollens to Amsterdam, Hamburg, Scotland and Ireland, and France probably; to Sweden and Russia certainly.

“ The great abuse and epidemical error in England about this subject, have been those of some representing, many believing,

for wool, so far a necessary to all the world, that cloth or stuff cannot be made, in any quantity at least, nor tolerable perfection, without it: that accordingly, till a prohibition took place, this nation neither made any advances towards a foreign trade with wool-
lens, or even so much as in the manufacture for home use; nor foreigners, but as they obtained, first openly, and since in a clandestine manner, the material, hence, or from Ireland.

"That other nations are supplied with wool of their own, and from foreign countries, besides England and Ireland; but for what concerns the state of our own manufactories and exportation trade, in this period, when wool was not prohibited to be exported, the foregoing history of it is to be observed in contradiction again, not only to innumerable English, of less note, but those two illustrious foreigners, Grotius and Thuanus, who have represented us, thus long, and somewhat later, to have been only shepherds and husbandmen; our exports nothing but raw wool. How these two eminent persons fell into this very gross mistake, we know not; but so it was that they did, and subsequent writers seem to have been misled by them."

FROM THE YEAR 1568, TO THE END OF QUEEN
ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

In this period was a variety of incidents, some very favourable to the manufacturers, others again disadvantageous to the woollen trade of England.

In or soon after the year 1568, a number of French and Flemish refugees were encouraged to settle and follow their trades at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone, and Southampton; but at the same time, through misbehaviour of merchants, a stop was put to a very beneficial trade for cloth, &c., in Russia, which cost the Queen some time and trouble to restore.

Also, upon a quarrel with Spain, the English merchants were prohibited all commerce (which suspension lasted five years,) and had besides their effects seized, both there and in the Low Countries.

Soon after, Antwerp was sacked, the English merchants there severely plundered, and withal obliged to redeem themselves at a very high ransom; but then, to make amends, commenced within a few years the English trade to Turkey.

On the other hand, the Muscovy trade had gone into decay, but was a second time re-established by a succeeding Emperor, not, as he said, in respect to the merchants, but to the Queen; who about the same time gave a patent to two noblemen and some others, for the sole vending of English cloths to Barbary.

Immediately after followed the Spanish invasion; by which, and a long war it occasioned, the trade of England, in Lord Burleigh's opinion, suffered considerably.

To the foregoing circumstances is to be added, that the Emperor and other Princes of Germany, espousing all along the Still-yard merchants, whom the great company of Merchant Adventurers had been reported to have supplanted in England; those Powers were continually molesting the said Merchant Adventurers, in some shape, by one means or another.

Notwithstanding which, it appears, at the close of this reign, that the woollen trade of England had been, and then was considerably, or rather, prodigiously great, beyond most succeeding times before the revolution.

SMITH'S REMARKS.

"The 12th year of Elizabeth (1568) is vulgarly reckoned a great æra of the English woollen trade, as if nothing memorable in that way had been done in this kingdom before; and it hath further been commonly said and believed, that 'twas in consequence, first, of receiving refugees; secondly and chiefly, of prohibiting absolutely and seriously the exportation of wool from England; neither of which are wholly true. Not the latter, in any degree, (there being no traces of such a policy during the whole reign of this great princess); nor the former, as it is commonly understood, because, first, we have seen the cloth trade of England was exceedingly great, not only in the foregoing part of this reign, but in several preceding ones, that of Queen Mary in particular. And also we have further reasons for thinking that the woollen exports from England, as to quantity or value, were not increased to such a degree as at this day reported.

"For, by comparing of circumstances (in this reign), bad and good, one would be apt to conclude that the former did more than balance the latter; as certainly they must have done, had those interruptions of commerce mentioned been in reality what it

is natural to imagine them : but as, on the one hand (in England), merchants of the Still-yard, though disfranchised as a company, were permitted to trade, i.e. to carry out cloth, and bring in wares, upon the same foot with other merchant strangers, or rather a better ; so now the other (in Germany) Merchant Adventurers, though frequently obliged to change their places of residence ; and besides being always vexed and harassed, more or less, were often totally prohibited to vend either cloth, wools, &c., within the extensive limits of the holy empire ; ' yet (says Mr. Wheeler) those mandates, not extending to all Englishmen, and all English wares generally, Merchant Adventurers found means to continue their trade, and vend the commodities of their country, though not in that sort that were convenient.'

" In short, several quarrels of this reign, so far as they respected commerce, (for other causes of quarrel there were,) arose partly from the Netherlanders taking umbrage at an act passed (5th Elizabeth,) which, to encourage manufactories of them at home, prohibited the importation of divers of their wares, such as pins, knives, hats, girdles, ribbon, &c. ; but chiefly with regard to Germany and the Still-yard merchants, from a difference concerning duties, that by ancient treaties were very low on both sides ; which, nevertheless, each power, for its own particular interest, sought to raise, without being willing to submit to what was naturally to be expected reprisals in the same way. This ended, according to Mr. Wheeler, in a mutual advancement of old, much lower duties, to $7\frac{1}{2}$ on the hundred, which neither side would depart from, but contented themselves with reciprocally charging the others as sole aggressors, and with endeavouring to be the monopolists of Europe.

" With all this, Mr. Wheeler (who was secretary to the company, and wrote in this reign, viz. in the year 1601,) says :—' The Merchant Adventurers of England were not fewer in number than three thousand five hundred ; they exported cloth, kerseys, and other woollen goods to the yearly value of one million sterling, besides wool, &c. Moreover, the members of the Houses were at liberty to buy and carry out of the realm all sorts of cloth, on paying such duty as they ought to pay ; also all subjects of Upper and Lower Germany, and all other strangers, were permitted to do the same ; and divers other companies of English merchants were privileged to transport cloth, &c. into foreign parts.'

" Whether or no then the English woollen exportation trade, as thus represented by Mr. Wheeler, whose view in writing led him to say the most of it, was in the main greater now, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, than it had been in the beginning

of it, and in that of Queen Mary, is a problem not very easy to be solved; but if not greater, there is no reason for concluding it to have been less. However, most certainly, it cannot be said (though put upon the public over and over again for true history) either that the woollen manufacture of England first commenced to any considerable degree in and from the year 1568, or that the woollen exportation trade then first begun, or was any way considerably increased; least of all can it be maintained that any increase was, during this period, in consequence of prohibiting absolutely the exportation of wool, because it was never once done in any shape whatsoever.

“For the matter of bays and say making, though it hath been said, and often repeated, that these two species of manufacture were introduced as wholly new, in or after the year 1568, yet plainly 'twas not so, because in 1564 the Duchess of Parma prohibited, first, bays from England, cloth and kersey afterwards; and we have undoubted evidence of say making, about the 7th of Edward IV., which was a hundred years sooner, and of its greatly increasing from that time, so as to be ‘busily practised almost throughout Norfolk, particularly at Norwich, Yarmouth, and Lynn.’

“What then was the loss to Flanders and gain to England (so often spoken of) by the Duke D’Alva’s persecution in 1568, with what followed thereupon? The loss to Flanders was not that of English wool; whereof they suffered no formal deprivation in the least, but it was a loss,—1st, of many useful Protestant manufacturers and merchants; 2nd, in its consequences, of trade at Antwerp, which, as the mart and pack-house* of Europe, was thereby become not only exceedingly rich as a city, but had very much enriched their Prince and his whole country, with all the countries or provinces near unto, adjoining round about it; 3rd, it was in general, besides the cruel bigotry of Inquisition, the yoke of Spanish tyranny, violence offered without distinction to the constitution and privileges of the several provinces of the Low Countries, that, driving thence promiscuously both Papists and Protestants, contributed greatly to banish trade from this richest part of them, so far as that was done; for notwithstanding a great emigration, there were still a great number of traders in manufactures that remained in Brabant and Flanders.

* There were often seen to lie in the river two thousand five hundred ships together; and three or four hundred vessels have frequently come up in one tide, also two hundred waggons came in every day, laden with passengers from the neighbouring countries; and near a thousand every week, with Germans, French, and other foreigners; and ten thousand country carts were continually employed in carrying goods to and from the city.

* Of this dispersion many nations shared the advantage. The Seven United Provinces, as it was very natural, gained most: of manufactures England had but a small part comparatively in woollen, not properly that of cloth; but rather, if any, besides stocking frame knitting, what was afterwards distinguished by the name of new drapery; but the greatest advantage to England from this revolution, and which far exceeded all others put together, was, increase of shipping by an extended navigation, not only into the north, but to Turkey, the East and West Indies, &c., and for Antwerp ceasing to be the centre of commerce, that prodigious emporic, which had been there carried on, came to be divided in a great measure between Amsterdam and London.

" Upon the whole, whether we regard manufacture or commerce as oppressive, the arbitrary measures of the Spanish government was what gave a most fatal blow to them in the Low Countries; so to the reverse of these in England, during the wise and just administration of Elizabeth, was it owing that, with the increase of navigation, and all its consequences, enriching and aggrandizing this kingdom, the woollen trade in particular, kept its ground, at least if it did not advance; which perhaps it did, though certainly nothing near so much as hath been commonly imagined.

" We have dwelt the longer on this period, because very much hath been said about it by innumerable writers on our subject, without knowing at all what was the state of things at that time; on the contrary, ascribing vast consequences to one particular measure, (a prohibition on wool) which, having not then existed, could not be the cause of any effect whatsoever.

" Yet are we well assured that in Flanders there had been most prodigious manufactures of cloth and other woollen goods, to the year 1568: it remains, therefore, to inquire by what means those had been maintained in their full vigour thus long, notwithstanding so great a share of the English wool had then for many years been wrought up within the kingdom? And to this one short answer is, that the Flemings having the art, and withal hands for that business, and means for vending their goods, they wanted not wool of their own growth and from other countries, with which they were amply supplied for all kinds of work.

" If it be asked how it came to pass that England, without the policy since thought so essential, of prohibiting absolutely the material from being exported, could keep a quantity of it at home sufficient for that high pitch it had without all dispute attained, both for making for home use and exporting in manufacture; of this, the only good account to be given, must be a reality, no fiction: and, in fact, wool was not prohibited, but allowed to be

exported, paying the proper duty. Such duty, therefore, with freight and factorage, made it just so much dearer to the foreign than home manufacturer, as the same amounted to, which difference of price, we may venture to pronounce, was what gave the English at that time all requisite advantages, notwithstanding that cloths exported paid a subsidy to the crown, which, when first laid, was intendedly equal to the duty on wool exported, and in that view raised, in the reign of Philip and Mary, from 14d. on denizens, and 21d. on strangers, to 6s. 8d. and 13s. 4d., and so continued to 11 and 12 of King William III.

“ If it be here objected, that this subsidy on exported woollens was, according to our own account, a drawback upon home manufacturers, equal to all the difference mentioned in their favour, by what duty there was then on wool exported; we answer, not so; because it was in those times, and long after, the ill-judged policy of all other nations likewise, to load their own manufacturers in the same, or a heavier manner; so that the custom on wool exported was at this time a clear benefit to home manufacturers.

“ So then we see, how, in support of a monopolist measure since then adopted, history hath been falsified egregiously, for that the policy of prohibiting absolutely the exportation of wool had no share either in ruining at the time, so far as that was done, the woollen manufactures of the Low Countries, or in raising those of England to the pitch they now were at, and which we make no difficulty of thinking was the highest which they did attain in England before the Revolution: at least, there is no evidence to the contrary; nor will it appear improbable, upon a comparison of this and the two foregoing reigns with the four succeeding ones.”

FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF KING JAMES I. TO THE
ACCESSION OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

The reign of King James, like many preceding ones, began with a subsidy to him for life, of tonnage and poundage, wools exported, &c.

A peace soon followed with Spain, and a treaty of commerce sufficiently advantageous; except that a charter, exclusive for that trade, and to Italy, was granted by the king to certain merchants, which the Parliament disapproving, it was revoked, as tending to abate the price of wool, &c.

There was also a treaty of commerce between England and

France; inclosures were multiplied; nor did it appear for the first eight years of this reign, but that trade was, upon the whole, in a prosperous state. Exports from Christmas, 1612, to Christmas, 1613, were £2,487,435 7s. 10d., and the nation received a balance £346,283 17s. 10d.

Which, though the best account we shall find in this period, cannot be thought to have exceeded, either that of Camden in 1564, or of Wheeler in 1601.

And, indeed, by a tract published soon after this, it seems as if, through fraud in makers, and neglect of officers appointed to be a check upon them, (who, regarding fees only, made a sinecure of their duty,) the woollen manufacture of England was in some disgrace abroad, and the trade consequently impaired.

However, in 1614, the East India Company, though then but newly established, appears to have carried out most by broad cloths, dyed and dressed, to the value of £14,000; and the Turkey Company, which was of a longer standing by above twenty years, exported much more considerably in the same way; also the Eastland merchants, and some others.

* But the Merchant Adventurers were still the greatest traders in woollens, and in regard a statute had passed, (27th Henry VIII.) prohibiting the exportation of white cloths undressed, above the value of £4, which was found, in time, to be no benefit, but a prejudice; therefore, instead of that statute being repealed, Queen Elizabeth granted to the Merchant Adventurers a patent, (with a non obstante to it,) for the sole exporting of them; by which the vent of cloth was said to be much increased, to the public benefit and their particular emolument.

Alderman Cockayne, with some other rich citizens of London, making a specious handle of this, by reckoning up what an additional public advantage it might have been if the same number of cloths, so exported white and rough, by Merchant Adventurers, had been first dyed and dressed; and, withal plying properly the treasurer and other great officers of state, things were so far brought to bear, that the king, accepting an invitation to dine with Cockayne, knighted him; and seizing into his hands the Merchant Adventurers' patent, (which was too much of a monopoly,) granted to the said

alderman and others, (what was much more so,) a patent for the sole dyeing and dressing of all cloths.

✱ In consequence of this, the Dutch, who, as more expert dyers and dressers, had been used principally to receive English cloths white and rough, prohibited absolutely the importation from England of any dyed and dressed cloths. Thus a stop was put for a time, both to the trade and manufacture, although a principal argument urged for this policy had been, "that the Dutch could not dispense with the want of English cloth, in whatever shape it should please the nation to let them have it." Moreover, "that materials for woollen manufactures were such as other nations neither had nor could want, but must be furnished from England." But the former was now, by woeful experience, found to be false; and the latter, by an English cloth merchant, at the same time publicly exploded for a foolish conceit, equally void of truth.

As this procedure occasioned much clamour, so, in the result, Alderman Cockayne's patent was revoked, and that of the Merchant Adventurers was restored in 1617. But the mischief did not end so: the States General and Princes of Germany, resenting this attempt, not only banished all cloth of England dyed in the cloth, (which proscription the former would never revoke,) but proceeded further against other species of English woollens,—in Holland particularly, to a great imposition, viz. upon a pack cloth, nine guilders; a long cloth, eighteen; upon a fine cloth, twenty-four guilders; which was eighteen, thirty-six, and forty-eight shillings, English money.

The stagnation of trade, by means of Cockayne's patent; those impositions in Holland; the fraudulent practices of manufacturers at home; with some oppressive arbitrary proceedings of Merchant Adventurers in their corporate capacity, furnish out the complaints and disputes of the remaining part of this reign, when, confessedly, trade was upon the wane, and wool fallen, since that memorable project of the Alderman and his associates, from thirty-three to under twenty shillings a tod.

Exports from Christmas, 1621, to Christmas, 1622, were £2,320,436 12s. 10d., and the nation under a contrabalance of £298,878 7s. 2d.; and because exporting of wool was

made to bear a part of the blame, therefore, in this year, (July 20, 1622,) the king issued a proclamation, forbidding wool, fuller's earth, &c., to be exported; but under such circumstances, that there is reason to believe it was done for a very different purpose than to prevent it.

Also the Merchant Adventurers, having with too much reason made themselves obnoxious: In the 22nd of this reign, after solemn debates, passed two resolutions of the Commons, in diminution of their power, and by which trade in woollens was somewhat more laid open, yet without attacking their patent for exporting white and undressed cloths. But as a monopoly in one single article, considerable as it was, did not content them, so the ground they lost by these two votes above mentioned, they thought it worth while, and found means accordingly, to purchase again, ten years after, from King Charles I.

In the first fifteen years of whose reign, or rather, after peace in 1629 and 1630, with the French and Spaniards, and because war had broke out afresh between those latter and the Dutch, (who, during a truce of twelve years, had largely swelled their commerce,) there is reason to believe the trade of England flourished in a good degree—All things having thereto conspired, except that Archbishop Laud, imposing too rigorously his injunctions of conformity on the descendants of foreign Protestants who had taken refuge in the kingdom since Edward VI., many families (thousands) were frightened out of Norfolk and Suffolk into New England, and several (manufacturers) went to Holland, by which the manufactures of those two countries, and trade for them to Hamburgh from the port of Ipswich, was considerably lessened.

During a long sad interim of Parliaments, proclamations being made to serve the purposes not only of government but of supplies too, they were in course calculated for monopolies. The Eastland Company, by one, engrossed the bringing in of Polonia wools, a trade that hath long since ceased, in consequence of English wool being artificially rendered so much cheaper. Another, in words, prohibited wools, &c. to be exported, but, in fact, was designed to raise money for doing the same by licenses. A third, to restrain the exportation of wools, &c., i. e. without license,—again to vacate all former

licenses, and put the exporters under a necessity of purchasing new ones.

In short, the king having not so much as tonnage and poundage, nor any aid of Parliament, he thought himself justifiable, according to his own high notions of the regal authority, in having recourse to these and the like extraordinary methods of raising money for his occasions; of which the Merchant Adventurers taking advantage, purchased again, as before observed, that exclusive right of trade in woollen cloths to Germany and the Low Countries, which the Commons, ten years before, had taken from them.

At length, being driven by great necessity to the calling of a Parliament, and to a redress of grievances, in which monopolists bore their share, it was thought fit to grant him, as had been given to his father, the subsidy of tonnage, poundage, wools, &c.; so that wool now stood upon the same free footing as in the time of Queen Elizabeth, without any other restraint from exportation than that of a duty; and in the month of August, this year, Sir John Brownlow, of Belton, in Lincolnshire, sold three years' wool of that place, and Rip-pingale, in the same county, at 24s. per tod, to a baysmaker, of Colchester.

England had at this time the Spanish trade, exclusive of the Dutch, also a good vent for cloths in Muscovy and Turkey, yet was the decay of trade much a general topic of complaint. Particular grievances insisted on were the king's customs, impositions at foreign markets, woollen manufactories abroad, and ill-making at home; for which, odd as the remedy may seem, it was at once proposed, for a salutary measure, to keep the wool more at home and to lessen the exportation of cloth.

The Long Parliament passed an ordinance for a subsidy to their own use of tonnage, poundage, and wools exported, the same that was given to King James, in the first of his reign. Two years after, in consideration of a large loan from the Merchant Adventurers, they confirmed to them all their exclusive privileges.

In 1647, ~~wool being at a higher price than common~~, it was by an ordinance prohibited to be exported, under a pain of confiscation. The pretence was, that manufacturers had not

a sufficient supply of that material for their use ; but though a great rot in the following year made the quantity still less, yet within a few months after, the French king having prohibited all trade with England, the Parliament in return passed an act (among other things) " that no wool of the growth of France should be imported to any part of the nation ;" while, upon a question being put whether the linen of that kingdom should likewise be prohibited, it was resolved in the negative, " in regard of the general necessary use thereof ;" so that, though linen was wanted, there was plainly no real scarcity of wool, consequently the reason alleged for prohibiting its exportation was not literally true ; and therefore, although the legislature of that time had laid an embargo on wool, yet, after the examples of King James and King Charles, was it suffered to pass abroad by licenses.

At the death of King Charles this is said to have been the state of England, viz., that during the civil wars they had not been able to supply the Sound with woollens so full as aforetime, by which means the Dutch came to be let into a part of that trade ; and the Poles and Silesians, making a virtue of necessity, set up woollen manufactories, for their own use, with their own wool.

The Dutch, having made a firm peace with Spain in 1648, upon the foot of free states, they had a full trade thither, with fine cloths especially, their own manufacture, and for the material of them, Spanish wool ; wherefore certain English, seeing this with their usual all-grasping eye, conceived a scheme to disconcert them, by engrossing those wools into their own hands,—a chimerical project, but which succeeding, would have had more sense in it than some other monopolist imaginations, although the English did not yet understand how to use those wools in the best manner.

About the same time, it was represented that, by reason of the high duties on Flemish linens, all English cloths and other woollen goods were lately prohibited there. Soon after, the government received advice of a prodigious woollen manufactory at Frawstad and Lissa, in the upper parts of Poland, towards the borders of Silesia ; of two hundred and twenty thousand cloths there made yearly, besides the same and other woollen goods at and in the neighbourhood of

Dantzic; of great supplies of wool which Holland received from those countries constantly and continually; of the Duke of Brandenburg having bespoke one hundred thousand ells of Silesian cloth at Koningsburgh for his troops, heretofore supplied with English cloth, now disesteemed because not well looked to, the spinning and making being both accounted very bad. It was also signified from the Hague, by the English minister there, to the President of the Council at London, that quantities of English wool were imported to Holland.

And indeed, as the greater part of the manufacturers and merchants, who, to avoid the Duke D'Alva's persecution and the yoke of Spain, left Brabant and Flanders, had, as it was very natural for them to do, taken up their residency with the Seven Provinces (united to preserve their liberties) and chiefly in the Province of Holland, so it is no wonder that the Dutch, who had immemorially been conversant in the business, and in the beginning of the fourteenth century had, like England, received into their protection workmen from Ghent, Bruges, &c. were now, by this last reinforcement, very soon in a capacity of carrying on a vigorous trade in woollen manufacture: they having then the same means of doing it which the others had before. As to the manufactories mentioned, of Poland and Silesia, so far as then new, even those were an effect from the same cause; they had wool enough and to spare, and by entertaining some of the fugitive artificers, had probably (the former certainly) but enlarged what they had before; while the English, through a real or affected ignorance, treated every foreign woollen manufactory they heard of by any means as an absolute novelty and robbery upon themselves, a violence offered to them by their own weapons, English wool and fuller's earth; spreading most industriously a conceit, that without the latter, and a mixture at least of the former, there could not be a piece of cloth made in the whole world. Thus,

An English writer, under the title of the "Golden Fleece," held it for a truth, that England had been in the sole possession of the clothing trade for above three hundred years; and because the English had not then arrived to the making of the finest cloths of Spanish wool entirely, only what was called half and quarter Spanish, i. e. with a proportionable mix-

ture of that wool, by which it could not be conceived in England that wools of Spain were of some use and value; therefore a notion was advanced by him, that "these, neither alone nor mixed with any other than English, could be wrought into cloth;" grafting the same upon a foolish tradition that "the Spaniards had originally their breed of sheep from England." All this to make way for what took place upon the Restoration, viz., an act of Parliament prohibiting absolutely the exportation of wool, &c., the first law of the kind that was seriously intended to prevent it, that could not be dispensed with as formally by licenses from the executive power, and was only to be superseded by the same authority which gave it being! It will soon be seen what were the first fruits of this policy; only since things are best illustrated by comparison, it may be observed, as no accounts of English exports and imports have occurred from the first of King Charles to the restoration of King Charles Second, so we can only form a judgment in this period from the following circumstances that have appeared, viz. No complaint of wool having been remarkably cheap, but the contrary, especially from 1647 to 1660. Since 1640 to this time, the lowest price mentioned was 24s. per tod, and in 1651 the medium price of ordinary clothing wool was 12d. a pound; and notwithstanding the great unhappiness of the times in other regards, for 20 years preceding the Restoration, yet in 1653 it was said, "the trade of the kingdom had arrived at the highest pitch it ever knew, as appeared by the great sums then offered for the customs; the riches of the nation showed itself in the high value that land and all its native commodities bore." But behold, after the Restoration, almost an immediate change, a very different scene, as to these particulars!

In 1662, certain traders called Interlopers, charged the Merchant Adventurers, then best known by the name of the Hamburgh Company, (whose charter had been lately renewed) with a great decrease of trade from the time of such renewal, in consequence of their monopolist power; they, acknowledging the former (a decay of trade) denied only the latter:

Exports from 1662 to 1663 were no more than £2,022,812 4s. 0d.

The contrabalance was£1,993,207 19s. 8d.

Therefore followed an act, by which it was made felony to export wool; this penalty, though it remained to the reign of King William III., was not once executed.

French fashions prevailed much, and the commodities of that kingdom found a prodigious vent, insomuch that in 1663 it was computed England paid to France a balance of £1,600,000.

The English produce, as well as manufacture, being consequently a drug, an act passed, entitled, "For the encouragement of trade," by way of restraint, to limit the bringing in of cattle from Scotland and Ireland, to a certain season of the year.

In 1664 the price of wool was greatly fallen; yet to palliate this, it was publicly maintained by a merchant of London, to be a national benefit, for that the woollen trade had thereby increased twice as much; but as he did not offer any vouchers for such his assertion, so it is to be presumed he could not; indeed the reverse is much more likely, from the following circumstances of the next year.

In 1665, Thomas Tilham, of Warwickshire, with upwards of two thousand men, went and set up a woollen manufactory in the Palatinate; and one Skep, of Hertfordshire, with many others, followed and joined them.

With the price of wool and all other native produce, rents of England being greatly fallen, an act passed, prohibiting absolutely at all times the importation of cattle from Ireland; also an act for burying in woollen.

Sir William Godolphin, who had negotiated a treaty of commerce with Spain, had been also instructed to treat for a pre-emption and monopoly of the Spanish cloth wools, which he did not obtain; neither ten years after, when he thought the conjuncture somewhat more favourable.

In 1668-9, the whole exports of England were ...£2,663,274 19s.

The contrabalance was£2,132,664 18s.

Thus was trade at an extreme low ebb; according to Sir Josiah Child, many branches quite lost; very little left except to Turkey, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and the English plantations. France had laid an imposition of fifty or sixty per cent. on English drapery; the Swedes and Danes taxed it almost to a prohibition. To Turkey, Italy, Spain, and Por-

tugal, the Dutch had a considerable part of what was once (as he supposed) the English trade for fine cloth, but not so much in the coarse, because (said he) "the wool of which they are made is our own, and consequently cheaper to us than the Dutch can steal it from us;" yet adding, that "it went over then so plentifully, both from England and Ireland, as to be within a small matter equally cheap in Holland as in England."

SMITH'S REMARKS.

"Besides taking notice here that the act of prohibition, far from having produced any national good, had not so much as prevented the exporting of wool, we desire to observe further, and argue a little upon what this great man hath said; because, though henceforward we have a group of writers upon our subject, yet few, if any, of equal consideration. Middling coarse cloths in England were made (he says) of common English wool; the fine, we should imagine from him, were not: but, in truth, they were at this time made, either of those fine wools which England produces in a very small quantity, or of them mixed with the much finer of Spain. In the former, middling coarse cloths, the English were very able to cope with the Dutch; but not altogether so in the latter. Why in the former? Because wool was cheaper to them than to the Dutch. Yet he adds—'It went over then so plentifully to Holland, as to be within a small matter equally cheap there as in England.' But why did it go over then so plentifully under the risks of felony, since, (whatever might be Sir Josiah's opinion at that time), there was certainly no want of wool, especially for middling coarse cloth in many other, indeed most parts of Europe, besides Asia and Africa,—and for which former, Amsterdam then was, and still continues to be, a principal mart? The runnage, therefore, to Holland, of English wool, for middling coarse cloths, could be only on account of the higher price there given for them, which yet was not higher than what other wools of like quality bore in the same place: this we may be assured of. The first question is, how much higher were those wools in Holland than in England? That Sir Josiah did not say; only it was a difference which the Dutch could afford; and so long as they could, the temptation of it to clandestine dealers was such, that by the nature of trade, which is ever in close pursuit of profit, they would not fail of conveying it to them. But, secondly, why was it that the Dutch could afford that difference which made the temptation? Because, in Sir Josiah's opinion, interest of money being too high,

it wanted to be lowered ; strangers received and privileged with a full toleration of liberty of conscience. All which have been long since done in a good measure ; and yet the difference, remaining much as it was, hath all along produced nearly the same effects. The Dutch and others have been continually stealing wool from England, to use Sir Josiah's expression, which we think an improper one, it being plainly the English, who, for profit, steal it abroad ; and foreigners are only receivers of such stolen goods at their own market price for other wools of like quality or goodness ; so that Sir Josiah mistook the true cause of the smuggler's profit : their inducement, which was precisely this : An absolute prohibition on wool from England, being in effect a monopoly, had brought it so far below the market price of Europe for wools of the same kind, as to afford a temptation to the illicit practice of runnage ;—yet the Dutch, being furnished with all they used (besides what they thus got from England), for middling coarse cloths, at just so much a dearer rate than the English manufacturers were, by what the smuggler's charge and profit did amount to ; and English manufacturers, having that whole difference in their favour, were able to preserve their share of the trade in those kinds of cloth particularly, that were made in Holland, either of English, or with other wools of like quality.

“ We ask, then, all persons of consideration, whether a duty on English wool, if exported, might not have made the same difference at least, which the prohibition then did ? We ask all persons who will reflect on what was the state of things in Queen Elizabeth's reign, whether a duty had not then that effect at least ; and whether such a policy is not capable of operating alike at all times.

“ For here, let it be considered, what some had given out before this, and innumerable writers since have built upon, as the ground and foundation of an absolute prohibition, *that* Sir Josiah did not make any part of his argument for the expediency of such a measure : he did not speak, or give the least hint, of any peculiar qualities in English wool for working up with foreign, though writing professedly upon the subject which he had long studied ; and although he was himself a great advocate for the prohibition. Undoubtedly, he was not ignorant of this being alleged ; he was as likely as any other person in the kingdom to have informed himself well in that particular ; and had he known, or even thought it, would not have spared an argument of such consideration ; but having not mentioned any thing like it, it was plainly no part of his belief ; most probably, knowing the contrary, he would not sully his writing with such an absurd, abominable untruth, as many others since him have done.

"Lastly, why did the Dutch take so great a share above the English, as Sir Josiah hath intimated, in the trade for fine cloths, being made in both nations all or part of foreign wools (Spanish), those were purchased for both, it must be presumed, at the same price, or nearly so? We answer, though high interest, &c. were uppermost in Sir Josiah's thoughts, yet was there another cause to be assigned, of far greater efficacy, namely, the Dutch were hitherto vastly more expert in that branch of business, and, indeed, in the dyeing and dressing of cloths in general, than was yet known in England.

"A. D. 1668. One Brewer (whose parents were said to be English), with about fifty Walloons, who wrought and dyed fine woollen cloths, came into England, and the king, after the example of two of his wisest and most renowned predecessors, entertained them; by whom the English were instructed to make and dye fine woollen cloths, cheaper by 40 per cent. than they could do before, not only to the benefit of the English at home, but in foreign vent abroad, which before the Dutch had.

"From the reign of king James, the Dutch had been principal objects of English raillery as their rivals in trade, and about the article of wool especially, which, if at all, was held better to be exported anywhere than to the Netherlands; and since the Restoration, particularly to 1670, it had been much more a fashion to arraign that Republic than the French monarch, who then, and not sooner, began to be accused of exercising towards England a real oppression. The matter was thus:—

"Duties in France, on English (and all other foreign cloths were taxed there in like manner), had been raised, in 1654, from nine to thirty livres; in 1664, to forty; and in 1667, to about eighty livres; other woollen goods in proportion, which last, being about 50 per cent, amounted to a prohibition. This the French king did to encourage the woollen manufactories of his own kingdom, to make his people prefer them for their comparative cheapness. Moreover, he and his ministers had entertained a project for selling commodities to their neighbours, without buying any in return, consequently for money only. To this end, and to quit themselves entirely of foreign assistance, were set up in France an East India and other trading companies to the Levant, North, &c., also manufactories of fine cloth with Spanish wool only; giving, besides, all possible encouragement to every kind of woollen fabric, and all other manufactures.

"And, though the Dutch were betimes wise enough for their own part to traverse effectually these policies of France; yet was not that done so immediately by the English, who received from

thence, besides druggets, which they affected to wear very much, and besides other commodities to an immense sum, in one species of woollen manufacture, viz., serges made at Chalons, Chartres, Amiens, &c. to the yearly value of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds,—nearly, if not fully as much, according to the “British Merchant,” as English drapery exported to France in any one year ever did amount to.

“Such, then, having been the commerce before this time, for woollens between England and France, namely, to pay for those of the latter, England imported thither cloths, flannel, &c., of but the like, if not a less value. How different is this state of things from that most commonly given? and what so obvious remedy had the English as to have taxed, equally to a prohibition, the woollens at least of France? which, however, was not done, nor any thing else by way of reprisal, till eleven years after. No wonder, therefore, if during that period (we receiving theirs, they excluding our draperies) there was an extraordinary cheapness at home, demand for, and in course, runnage of English wool to France particularly, besides what went to Holland, for the reason already given; yet, as this matter, like most others under the same head, hath been grievously misrepresented, so it may not be an improper digression here (for what relates to France) to set the affair in a just light.

“’Tis commonly said, that France, being hitherto unaddicted to woollen manufacture, and equally destitute of skill and materials for the work, Monsieur Colbert now first formed the project of being supplied with both from England, and succeeded accordingly, by those means alone: this, we say, is the common account, and common belief; whereas, but very little of it comparatively is true.

“There is reason to believe the woollen manufacture not less ancient in France than in England. Mr. Huet says, that it and the linen trade, first began in France, about the year 960. Mr. Savary mentions a tradition, of certain cloth workers at Paris having first taught the English their art: is positive they have statutes in France on that head, from the year 1188. In 1511, the French sent into the Low Countries, cloth to an equal value with what was sold thither from both England and Scotland put together; and a flight of French refugees, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, brought to England their art of making woollen stuffs; and before the Dutch and English gained the Levant trade in woollens, the French and Venetians had it. Before the the year 1603, we read of woollen manufacture in France from Spanish wool; and the actual state at this time of Holland, England, and France respectively, in woollen manufacture, was as follows: the former had the

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vogue for superfine cloths, of Spanish wool; England traded largely in middling and coarser kerseys, serges, bays, says, and many other species of what was then called the new drapery, besides stockings; France, as said by a French writer, in 1664, (pupil to Mr. Colbert,) whom Mr. Joshua Gee quotes, furnished stuffs to all Europe.

"What, then, beyond a general attention to fabrics of every kind, do we perceive to have been the principal object of French policy at this juncture, in regard to woollen manufacture? That of making the finest cloths for their own use, in order to save so much money in the balance of their trade, as they had been wont to expend with the Dutch and Spaniards, in that single costly article.

"The material, wool, for this purpose, so far as wanted in France, they were under the necessity of getting from Spain: the art they could learn best from Holland; certainly not from England, where it was then in a very infant state, unarrived to that perfection which it attained before the end of the seventeenth century, and in which they have, since that time, both increased and improved.

"The French, after having succeeded in this attempt, set up in the next place, or rather, we may say, revived, their manufactures proper for the Levant trade; and lastly, they erected manufactories of stuffs, after the fashion of England, for their commerce with Spain: in this order are noted by Mr. Savary their most memorable recent improvements in the woollen trade, viz.:-

"In 1646, Nicholas Cadeau, a native of France, with John Binett, and Ives, of Marseilles, had letters patent for twenty years, for the sole making of black and coloured cloths at Sedan, like those of Holland, the success of which manufactory exceeded all expectation; the wool they made use of being Spanish, of the better sorts. In 1669, Sieur Vanrobais, a Dutchman, had also a patent for making fine cloths, at Abbeville, in Picardy, after the fashion of Spain and Holland; his workmen to be brought from the latter; his wool, the best of Spain only; and which succeeded, even beyond that of Sieur Cadeau, at Sedan. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, and not sooner, the Sieur Masseau set up a manufactory of cloths, after the fashion of England and Holland, at Caen, in Normandy, with Spanish wool only. The Sieur de Varennes, having brought workmen from Holland, undertook to make cloths for the Levant trade, at Saptés, near Carcassone, in Languedoc: this manufactory, called a royal one, was the model and the mother of all the rest of that kind; in particular that of Clermont Lodeve, which followed soon after. The Sieur Castenier succeeded in the same way, no less than those before mentioned.

The States of Languedoc added two others, one at Rieux, under the conduct of *Sieur Gurse*, a Dutchman; the other near *Penzenas*, under the direction of French manufacturers. Thus far appear no names of workmen that seem English, nor any signs of English wool. The last royal manufactory in Languedoc, mentioned by *Mr. Savary*, is that of *Mr. Chamberlin*, who, by his name, might possibly be an Englishman, or of English extraction: he did not make for the Levant; only woollen stuffs, after the fashion of England, for the Spanish trade: yet was it never so much as pretended, except by *Mr. Postlethwaite*, that any English or Irish wool was imported into Languedoc: on the contrary, wool employed there is partly of the country, but a greater part is brought from *Marseilles*; and that imported from *Constantinople*, *Panorme*, *Smyrna*, *Alexandria*, *Cyprus*, *Cavallo*, *Salonica*, *Tunis*, *Algiers*, *Tetuan*, *Barbary*, *Bonne*, *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Majorca*, *Catalonia*, *Alicant*, *Almeric*, *Valence*, *Carthage* and *Malaga*, *Naples*, *Leghorn*, *Genoa*; whence it is plain that Spanish and other wools may be used for the like purposes of stuff making with the English and Irish; consequently, and from the whole of the premises, neither did France derive principally its woollen manufacture and trade, as to the art or material, from England; nor does that nation depend on the latter for its continuance; however, not in such a manner, and to so great a degree, as hath been currently represented, for near a century; and all with a view, and for the sake of supporting one measure; otherwise, for the most part, judged to be indefensible, because a monopoly, viz. the absolute prohibition on English and Irish wool.

“We grant indeed, that whereas in 1665, *Lewis Bezuel* and *Nicholas de la Coudre*, began the fabric of serges, after the fashion of London, at *Aumale*, in Normandy, and had a patent for the same, upon the report of *Mr. Colbert*, *Mr. Savary* does say, that the best wool for that particular purpose, is English, viz. the longest for warp, the shortest for woof; but then, by what follows, it seems as if this was only saying in effect, how those serges were made in England. For after mentioning that by reason of the prohibition, English wools were difficult to be procured, he adds, they had recourse to the longest and finest of *Berry* for warp; and for woof to the prime and second of Spain and Portugal; that this manufactory prospering well, had spread itself to *Seignelay*, *Gournay*, *Auxerre*, *Sedan*, *Abbeville*, *Beauvais*, *Boufflers*, &c., i.e.—To *Doncherry*, the wool of *Berry*, *Champagne*, and *Brie*—To *Mouson* and *Autrecott*, the wool of the country—To *Chalons*, the wool of *Champagne*, *Brie*, *Soissonois*, *Burgundy*, and some Spanish wool—To *Paris*, the wool prime *Segovia*, fine *Albarasin*, and other Spanish

wool, with that of Berry, L'Auxois, Champagne, and Brie—To Dreux, to Dijon, Marcy, Arnay-le-duc, Auxonne, Chatillon-sur-Seine, and Chassinée, the wool of Rheims and Troye. The vast success, therefore, of this particular serge manufacturing in France, argues plainly, either English wool is not excellent for that purpose, beyond many others, as even Mr. Savary judged it to be; or otherwise, our laws, so absolutely prohibitory in this case, have not prevented the French from having it in immense quantities. Leaving that point to be determined by other circumstances, and the advocates for those laws to enjoy in the mean while, their darling opinion, we resume the thread of our history.

“When the alarm was taken in some degree at French impositions on English drapery, instead of proper reprisals, by prohibiting or taxing to a prohibition their commodities, as might have been, all the endeavours used were to prevent (what experience hath shown to be impossible) the Owling trade to France from England and Ireland, which impossibility some in the House of Commons even then foreseeing, proposed the expedient of a duty, as more likely to prove effectual to all beneficial purposes than a prohibition under any guard or penalties whatsoever; but this motion was easily overruled, through a persuasion that nothing but the latter could avail the nation sufficiently, by reason of the very peculiar qualities of Irish and English wool, then occasionally averred for the first time, in so many words, to be such, that one pack of either conveyed to France, was a bar to England, not only in the manufacturing of such single pack, but of two besides into stuffs and middling cloths, which otherwise, i. e. without a mixture of them in that proportion, could not be made in the whole world.

“Another writer had before asserted, that ‘the wools of England were superlative for fineness to all the world, except Spanish, which neither by itself, nor by incorporation with the wools of any other nation, would be wrought into any cloth without the help and mixture of English wools:’ thus by two persons, at different times, a belief passed, or seemed to pass upon the nation (and the same or more hath been held by a long train of writers since) that neither stuffs nor cloths, fine or coarse, could be made without a mixture of English or Irish wool; and it seemed at that time to be thought a sufficient proof of all this, that cloths, as well as stuffs of various kinds, were made in France; that wool was exported from Ireland in very large quantities, and from England, in one short season, to the amount, as supposed, of 20,000 packs, by which the price at home had been raised for a short time.

“England had not only a losing trade with France; but since the prohibiting of cattle from Ireland, had lost a great share of

trade with that kingdom,—according to Sir William Petty, three-fourths of what was before their foreign trade. The same was confirmed by Sir W. Temple, who predicted still worse consequences from that act, if continued; though judging it a very partial one, he was of opinion 'twould not last; but unfortunately for this kingdom, was so far mistaken.

“In 1674, a committee of merchants, appointed to examine the state of trade between England and France, reported a balance to the latter of near one million yearly. The Commons taking that report into consideration, a bill was ordered to be prepared, but nothing done towards retrieving: such interest had France with the Court of England; so that things went on from very bad to much worse.

“The Irish, from being only breeders of black cattle to be fattened in England, had themselves become feeders of them for a foreign victualling trade, which before was a branch of English traffic; having also betaken themselves more than formerly to breeding and grazing sheep, poured quantities of wool into England, already overstocked with its own growth: moreover, procuring foreign hands for the purpose, had erected several woollen manufactories; among others, a company at London, with a joint-stock of £100,000, and artisans from the West of England, set up one near Clonmel, in Ireland, for cloths and stuffs; and with them, some wool and beef, carried on a trade to Holland and Germany. Accounts from abroad were, that not only French drapery rivalled ours in all foreign parts, but that cloth was a staple commodity of many other nations, who, between their finer and coarser manufactures, could both oversell and undersell the English at any market: to crown all, great were said to be the abuses put upon clothiers by brokers and factors of Blackwell-hall, &c. An act of Common Council in the city of London confined all drapery brought thither for sale, to certain halls or markets, with an exclusion to all that were unfree of the city, (unless authorized by Parliament) from buying, selling, cheapening, or inspecting the same, or even so much as entering the said halls or markets in market-time.

“In consequence of all these, wool (said to be eminently the foundation of English riches, which had been accounted as one half, and still constituted a large portion to the English nobility and gentry, of their wealth) was fallen from its ordinary price of twelve pounds the sack, and from its more advanced rate of fifteen and sixteen, to five, four, and three pounds ten shillings; rents were abated twenty pounds at least, and in some places thirty, in the hundred; and lands selling generally for two or three years' purchase less than formerly, there was more than a third part of the value lost; and

in some lands considerably more :—reasons assigned were,—1st, prohibiting absolutely the exportation of wool, which, 'twas said, had not been the policy anciently, for any continuance of time, but whenever practised, of ill consequence to the nation ; 2nd, increase of wool in Ireland, since the prohibiting of their cattle in England ; 3rd, very low rates for wool in England for so long a time together, had made so many apply to husbandry, that corn did hardly afford any profit towards payment of rent. Thus was cheapness of wool at this time held to be a general incommodity to the whole kingdom.

" Wherefore, after asserting that both the French and Dutch could make stuffs of their own wool alone ; after appealing to those who knew any thing of the south part of France, whether they did not make good cloth at and about Carcassonne, Bourgen, Berry, and divers other places, without the help of English wool ? after calling to witness some Turkey merchants, who knew that Carcassonne cloths particularly found good prices, and many buyers in the Levant,—By way of remedy it was proposed (besides obliging strictly the use of woollens at home, and repealing the Irish act), ' that no merchant stranger should be suffered to buy any wool till All Saints, or St. Martin's day ; but then that any might buy and export what they pleased, paying for every sack of wool such customs to the king as the Parliament in their wisdom should see fit.'

" This expedient was not a casual thought of one single person, but, after much deliberation, the joint opinion of many true lovers of their country, acknowledged for such ; which opinion was nevertheless opposed, though with more rancour than good argument ; for example, confessing that wool had been falling continually for fifteen or sixteen years, the precise time of its being prohibited to be exported, that a merchant, well versed in the intrigues of trade had given it for his sense of the matter, ' if the prohibition were removed, and due imports charged upon wool, it might better thereby be either retained, or else rendered so chargeable to our neighbours, that we might have sufficient advantages over them in that manufacture.' To this the main reply was : ' Such impost must be either much or little—if the former, it might be evaded by runnage—if the latter, it would be too easily afforded for large quantities ;'—as if there was no medium in arithmetic !

" Another writer, undertaking to give a full and clear answer to the above-mentioned ' Reasons of the Low Price of Wool, the Abatement of Rents, &c., and therefore for limiting the Exportation of Wool by a Duty, rather than a Prohibition,'—desired, first,

that regard might be had to the example of Edward III., which was desiring, as usual with him, to build upon a lie ; then, proceeding to ' the reasons, &c.,' he denied that a low price for wool was at all in consequence of the prohibition, or any cause of rents sinking, farms thrown up, and other miseries of the country. ' Wool,' he said, ' had sold dearer since the prohibition (viz. after the year 1650) than before (1647); and for what it had fallen since that, was to be imputed to an increase of it, occasioned by the Irish Cattle Act, and to the French last great imposts on English drapery ; and that the sinking of rents, &c., besides other reasons, was owing to a long disadvantageous commerce with France.'

" The former were, in the nature of chronical disorders, proceeding from obstructions ; but this last, being like a galloping consumption, there was at length sufficient sense and virtue in the nation (all other means having failed) to tack to a money bill a clause for prohibiting the importation of any French commodities for three years, from March 20, 1667-8, and to the end of the next session of Parliament, after those three years should expire ; when, for want of such session, it happened to be continued till the death of Charles II., and was a beginning of much public benefit, although that policy had not its full effect till England was wholly emancipated from France at and by the Revolution, ten years after. However there was, within a few years, viz. in 1680 and 1681, an advance in wool, and also an advance in price, and probably an increase in the quantity of woollen goods exported ; which last, nevertheless, is not to be concluded certainly, because it did appear that foreign wools (Spanish, for instance,) were advanced at the same time in much the same proportion.

" In 1680, the Irish Cattle Act being near expiring, some endeavours were used that it might not be renewed. It had been alleged that the bringing in of Irish cattle drained away our money, and thereby occasioned the rents of England to fall a fifth part, i. e. £1,600,000, in eight millions. This Sir W. Petty called a strange conceit, since the Irish (he said) took back from England between treble and quadruple of what they transported thither in ox flesh, &c., (which did not exceed £80,000 per annum.) And, besides, the owners of about one-quarter of all real or personal estates of Ireland lived and spent their incomes in England. Sir W. Temple denied that a decay of rents had proceeded from Irish cattle, or that the act could be of any service to England in that respect. However, undoubtedly it was intended to favour the northern and western parts of England, as breeders of cattle ; and the effect proved to be, that whereas before the said act foreign ships were wont to victual in England, the Irish, being put under a necessity

of fattening their own cattle, had got that trade, and the victualling of English ships besides. For example, then: the eastern and southern parts of England, as feeders, lost the victualling of the Dutch; and even English merchantmen, westerly or southerly bound, victualled for the most part but for six weeks in England, and took in the rest of their provisions in Ireland, or Irish provisions in Spain, according to contract for the same. Whereupon, against continuing this act, it was thus argued:—'Shall English ships be permitted to victual in Ireland? If yea, then English provisions are not spent at home; which, if not done, contradicts the first intention of the act. Again, shall the Irish be permitted to sell their provisions abroad to strangers? Can we, or ought we to hinder them from so doing? If they do, England loses a valuable branch of its trade.' But notwithstanding all this and much more was said, and though no public measure hath been more generally condemned, and less defended, yet through a plurality of voices, under a provincial bias, it was against common sense not only continued, but made perpetual.

"A bill had been set on foot to oblige the wearing of woollens; against which was presented (Nov. 9th, 1680,) a petition of English silk weavers, complaining also of wrought silks and other manufactures imported by the East India Company, which then began to be spent in the kingdom to a very large annual value, (two or three hundred thousand pounds,) and which we may believe had been increasing since the prohibition of French commodities. But the bill about woollens was dropped, and the attack upon the East India Company staved off for a while by the address and credit of Sir Josiah Child, who made himself their advocate to the public; and among other things insisted that East India silks and calicoes did not prey upon English manufactures, but only on those of Italy, France, Holland, Flanders, to their detriment, a million yearly; which, consequently, so far weakening those powers, did in effect enrich and strengthen England in that proportion.

"About this time, one Courteen, an Irishman, servant in the family of the Queen of England, carried over into Portugal several clothiers and bays-makers, where they presently set up manufactures both of cloth and bays, particularly at Port Alegre and Cavillhan. Also, by particular encouragement of the Duke of York, as high commissioner there, was set up in Scotland an extraordinary manufactory for cloth; wherefore it was by a statute of that kingdom prohibited to import thither any stuff or cloth made of wool, not on supposition that the said new erected manufactory was likely to supply Scotland with so much cloth as could be consumed there, (although it had made a great progress in two years.)

but as a sumptuary law, *anent apparel*, to oblige the people to content themselves till it had sufficiently increased and spread itself with those kinds of woollens which they could and did make in sufficient quantities; the Scots having for some years been employed in making serges, and being lately come to so much perfection in them, as to export the same in good quantities to Holland, Hamburgh, Spain, and the West Indies, and even some by stealth to England.

“ King Charles II. dying, the act 29-30, of his reign, for prohibiting French commodities, was repealed in the first of James II.,—so much was the Parliament at his devotion, and himself under direction of French counsels, although otherwise well apprised of the nature and interests of trade; but Popery, and to that end, arbitrary power, being with him an over-ruling passion, he sacrificed thereto all other considerations. The Parliament, indeed, to preserve appearances, appointed a committee to consider of means to keep up the price of wool; and to that end resolved that all persons should wear woollen manufactures six months in the year; but the French immediately stocked England with their manufactures and produce; importing in this short reign of three years, to the value of above four millions sterling, that was publicly known, besides what was supposed to be done in a more private manner, to an incredible sum.

“ Comparing our history of this period with the two immediate foregoing ones, there is reason to think the woollen manufacture and the foreign cloth trade of England, from English wool, was at least equally great, all circumstances considered, from Edward VI, to the last of Queen Elizabeth, as at any time since the accession of King James I., and considerably greater than at all times after the Restoration, especially to the year 1678. We make these distinctions, ‘cloth trade, English wool, and all circumstances considered,’ because the new drapery of stuffs, perpets, &c., besides stocking-frame knitting, had improved, and which employed more hands than cloth did, in the same quantity of wool.

“ The English foreign plantation trade was new. Spanish wool had been in a great measure introduced: making, therefore, due allowances for these, and for an increase of wool in England, and for the wool of Ireland, and for a general increase of trade and money in Europe, we think that what we have here said is most probably true; and so far as we have any particular account of exports to inform us, certainly so. For example, the highest extant in this period, viz., in the reign of King James (1612-13) amounts to little more than those to Antwerp singly, about the year 1564, at the lowest computation. And as in the latter the proportion of woollens

was half of the whole, so by the same rule of reckoning, the former scarcely exceeded in value what Merchant Adventurers alone exported ordinarily, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. And with regard to exports, after the Restoration, judging of the rest by accounts which have occurred, they fell short of those in the reign of King James I.; and, consequently, according to the "British Merchant," not inconsiderably short of what Merchant Adventurers, for their part only, were used to export before the accession of James I.; so that the woollen trade of England having declined greatly from the Restoration, the very time when an absolute prohibition on wool first took place, this may be noted as a circumstance making rather against than for the policy; although we are not to imagine that particular part of the English trade to have suffered much in this or any succeeding period, merely on account thereof. It is rather incumbent on zealots for that measure, to show when the nation did receive the benefit given out to be intended from it; which was, by preventing exportation of raw wools, to promote the working of them at home, in order to a foreign vent in manufacture. But without accomplishing the former, there is no possibility of the latter. That the former could not be, in this time we are speaking of, is evident from many circumstances,—in particular the low state of woollen exports from England. And though they will be found to have increased considerably afterwards, and almost continually, yet shall we see runnage of wool not therefore discontinued; very far from it. Whence it seems as if the nation, in having chiefly an eye to that single point of prevention by prohibitory penal laws, had made a fundamental of what is not quite necessary; and so far as the same is useful, we shall go near to demonstrate that the means applied have not been competent to the end; however, not to an end commonly thought just, nor consequently politic to be avowed. In short, if a prohibition never did, and probably therefore never can prevent totally, it will at most but limit the exportation of wool; which, if a lower duty should not effect equally, to say no more, a higher certainly would."

FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF WILLIAM AND MARY TO
THE LAST OF KING WILLIAM III.

In the first part of William and Mary, was an act "for preventing the exportation of wool, and for encouraging woollen manufactures of the kingdom and the growth of wool, by giving a general liberty to all persons for the exporting of woollen manufacture into any foreign parts whatsoever;" but with a saving to several charters, viz., of the Levant,

Eastland, Russian, and African companies; which saving clause was probably procured, along with other means, by a tract published upon that occasion, containing reasons in the names of the governor, assistants, and fellowship of Eastland Merchants, against giving such a general liberty as the title of the act purported; stating therein that it would avail the nation nothing; could give no additional vent to manufacture; for that was only to be effected, either by suppressing foreign manufactures of wool, (which they themselves knew to be an impossibility), or, which they conceived would give offence to landowners, by contriving matters so, that wool in England might be continually cheap, which, nevertheless, they insisted was the true policy.

Wool, at this time, (and so it continued to the peace of Ryswick), was comparatively dear in England, beyond what it had been since the Restoration, and what manufacturers and merchants in general thought well of, although allowed by some of them to be but a reasonable amends to farmers for the pressures they had sustained for twenty years together. Causes conspiring to a dearness of wool in this period were—

1st. The havoc and spoil of Ireland for three years during the war there. 2nd. The French engrossing what that kingdom did then afford, got besides, great quantities from England. 3rd. (Which was above all), the commodity, wool in general, had advanced considerably in the markets of Europe, particularly at Marseilles. 4th. To these may be added a great rot in England, (1692). 5th. The ill state of silver coin, and high price of guineas thereby occasioned.

What had been the state of trade, i. e. the quantity of woollens exported, from the accession of William and Mary to the peace of Ryswick, does not appear from any custom-house accounts, and, therefore, we can only mention other circumstances. For example, (1694,) we are informed, (although it is mentioned as a grievance), that a swarm of foreign factors from Holland, Germany, Flanders, &c., and even Persians and Grecians, had come over to England and negotiated for vast quantities of English drapery; and in 1696, it came out occasionally, that there had been a great call during three years then passed for woollen goods.

In the above interval were, besides that already mentioned,

(1 William and Mary), three several acts of Parliament relating to the exportation of wool : the first of them enacting, "that if a private man of war took a ship or vessel laden with wool to be transported, a moiety of such vessel and lading should be to the captor:" the next reciting "that, notwithstanding former laws, the exportation of wool was still continued:" the third, for explanation and better execution of former acts made against transportation of wool, recited, that "notwithstanding several laws made to prevent it, &c. nevertheless the said exportation was still notoriously continued:" and as there had been complaints of London factors and packers, so an act passed to regulate them.

Since the prohibiting of French commodities, (silk and linen among the rest), advantage had been taken of importing in larger quantities silks and calicoes from the East Indies. These had accordingly for some time furnished matter of complaint in England; the former rivalling the home manufacture of silks, the latter of woollens, particularly tammies, says, and other Norwich stuffs. But till 1696, no formal attempt was made towards a redress of this grievance, when a bill for that purpose presented in Parliament miscarrying, there followed a tumult of weavers in London, who had very near seized the treasure at the East India House. Against this bill Dr. Davenant had been induced to employ his sprightly pen, and to make light, not only of silk and linen manufactories in the kingdom, but of the consumption of woollens at home,—a failure wherein, though (he said) it would make wool cheaper in the English market, yet was that to be esteemed a national benefit, by reason of its being a commodity that abounded almost throughout Europe.

And although this tract of Dr. Davenant's was answered properly, yet another appeared on the same side, wrote in plausible terms, and a form very argumentative, but most sophistical. Thus, and perhaps by means of some other artifices, East India manufactures, though flagrantly pernicious, were upheld for a few years longer; and the Company, either flushed with success, or despairing to maintain long that traffic against the landed and manufacturing interests of the kingdom, made an egregious use of their present time and opportunity.

Whether by some management of the East India Company, as a tub thrown out to save themselves, or not, the woollen manufacturers of England turned their whole artillery against that business then carried on in Ireland; beginning with petitions from Exon and Barnstaple, that were followed (as hath been customary since,) by several others, for a law to prohibit the exportation of woollen goods from Ireland to foreign parts.

In opposition whereto, it was alleged that the flock-masters in Ireland were chiefly gentlemen, or tenants to gentlemen, of English extraction; and persons employed there in that manufacture were also for the most part English, who, having left their native kingdom for debt, &c., as they could not return, so would they be driven to seek their bread by the same means in foreign countries, to the ruin of many thousand English families, and of the English interest there; and wherever they should go, the wool of Ireland, if any thought it worth while to be grown after such a law, would, in course, be sent after them.

On the other hand, for the bill, it was acknowledged that the same intended, not only to suppress all exportation of woollens from Ireland, but utterly to discourage the progress of that manufacture there, lest in time they should be able to work up all their own, and England be deprived of its usual supply from thence; that this was but an act of self-preservation in England, the mother country; which therefore, as such, had a right to dictate, not only in that particular, but some others, and moreover to command a monopoly of their raw wools.

In the course of this controversy, a material doubt, by way of objection, was started, viz, "whether such a law, if made, would probably take effect; it being the interest of all Ireland to defeat it?" and the answer was, "the government there being so much under direction and influence from England," that kingdom must necessarily receive and submit to whatever law should be so given.

This bill passed the Commons, and being committed in the House of Lords, went off in separate addresses from each House to King William, that he would use his endeavours to discourage the exportation of wool from Ireland, except to England;

and to discourage the woollen and increase the linen manufacture there. His Majesty acted accordingly, and the Commons of Ireland readily embracing the overture for a linen manufacture, proposed with regard to woollens, by way of temperament, a high duty, to the end (as they said) the same might not be injurious to England.

This only increasing the English jealousy, and a discovery having been made of a contraband trade with France, by means of passes from the admiral there, for importing à la modes and lutestrings, and exporting great quantities of wool, an act followed immediately, reciting "that great quantities of like woollen manufactures as in England, had of late been made in Ireland, and in the English plantations in America;" therefore enacting—"1st, that no person should export from Ireland wool or woollen goods, except to England or Wales. 2nd, that no wool, or woollen manufacture, being of the product or manufacture of any of the English plantations in America, should be loaden on any ship, horse, or carriage, with intent to be exported out of the said plantations, to any other of the said plantations, or to any other place.

Hereupon many Irish woollen manufacturers, it hath been said, transported themselves to France, Germany, and Spain; where, being kindly received, they followed their business, to the prejudice of England in its woollen trade."

Howsoever that was in fact, experience, which is the best school-mistress, tells us that the Irish were not long or much disconcerted by the act itself, in their woollen manufacture, and woollen exportation trade; and so far some writers, on each side of the question, have proved to be mistaken; not so the person who was of opinion, "a law in Ireland would not take effect, which it should be the interest of that whole kingdom to defeat."

Moreover, as it was then objected to this visionary scheme for suppressing the woollen, by setting up a linen trade in Ireland, that the latter would lessen the English vent of woollens to Hamburgh, &c., so it is said to have proved; and though perhaps, upon the whole, no considerable loss to the nation, yet no real gain; but like many other projects from the same quarter, an injury to the English owner of sheep-lands, by rendering that monopoly against him which is occa-

sioned through an absolute prohibition on wool so much stronger and more grievous.

This affair with Ireland being thus ended, East India silks and calicoes were again the object of attention. The silk weaving trade in England having increased (as it was said,) nineteen parts in twenty from the Restoration to the Revolution, was become a vast branch of business in the nation, affording employment and a maintenance to great numbers;* and although East India manufactures at first preyed chiefly upon woollens only, afterwards, in consequence of the Directors having sent over weavers, dyers, and pattern drawers to instruct Indians how to suit the European taste, was for some time (as said by Sir Josiah Child,) only a detriment to France and other foreign states; yet now that trade with France had been prohibited upwards of ten years, and the fabric of lutestrings, &c., pretty well established in the kingdom, damasks and sattins of East India, as foreign commodities, became, it seems, the mode with English ladies; so that these and calicoes together, interfering with London, Canterbury, and Norwich weavers, multitudes of the two former especially were said to be reduced to a miserable starving condition for want of employment. Wherefore an act readily passed, intituled "for the more effectual employing of the poor, by encouraging the manufactures of the kingdom:" reciting that a continuance of trade to India, as had been two years before, must inevitably be to the detriment of this kingdom, by exhausting its treasure, and taking away the labour of the people: therefore prohibiting the wearing and otherwise using all wrought silks, &c., of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East India, and all calicoes, painted, dyed, or stained there.

About the same time passed another act (which could not fail of being beneficial also) for immediately taking away the duties upon woollen manufactures, &c., exported; which duties had existed from Philip and Mary: also the aulnage duty, after the expiration of two grants for a term then enduring. The two foregoing acts were in 1699, in which year precisely the woollen exports were remarkably great.

* Sir Josiah Child estimated the silk trade to employ and maintain forty thousand families.

(amounting to very near three millions), larger than known before, or afterwards to 1713, when the "British Merchant" was published; notwithstanding which, there was much complaining at this very time, the next year, and year following, which was the last of King William, that the woollen manufacture of the kingdom was exceedingly decayed, and foreign trade for it sensibly diminished. And though there might be some truth in one, through a defect of home consumption, occasioned by an increase of silk manufacture in the kingdom, and of East India goods (the time for wearing which was not yet expired), yet the other was evidently a misapprehension, to be accounted for as follows:—1. From the natural proneness of persons, in a trading way especially, to complain. 2. Hearing of wool exported, and of woollen manufactories in neighbouring countries, 'twas vulgarly conceived to be all the effect of English and Irish wool, and so much clear loss to the nation.

SMITH'S REMARKS.

"In this reign, runnage of wool was equally a complaint, as it had been in those of Charles II. and James II.; and probably with much the same reason, although there is no ascertaining the measure of a practice, which in its nature must be secret.

"A decay of woollen manufacture, and a diminution of foreign trade for it, were also alike deplored all along under King William, as in the two foregoing reigns; but not with the same cause in respect to both. 'Tis true woollen manufacturers might be supposed to suffer through a defect of home consumption, by an increase of silks wrought within the kingdom, and by increased imports of East India manufactures, in case the prohibiting of French silks, serges, and druggets did not countervail. But English exports in general, and of woollens in particular, greatly exceeded in this last reign those of the two former, so far as the few accounts that have occurred do inform us; which, though perhaps it may be said are too few to found a perfect knowledge or judgment upon, yet without being mathematically certain, or minutely scrupulous, are a good moral proof. For instance, the whole exports from England, in two several years of Charles II., did not much exceed two millions; nor the woollens exported £900,000, in each of those years. But in one year of King William (1699) the whole exports amounted to near seven millions, of which the woollens were almost three.

"'Tis true, woollen exports in 1699 exceeded any year that had

been known before, or after to 1713. But the medium of those exports, towards the end of the seventeenth century, having been stated at two millions per annum, we are thence authorized to say, there had been no diminution of our woollen trade during King William's reign; very much the contrary. And that being so, 'twill perhaps be said, there could not be such quantities of wool run from England, as when the foreign trade was less for woollens, namely, in the reign of Charles II., which, *cæteris paribus*, certainly there could not. Nevertheless, considering what hath been remarked before, of an increased growth of wool in England and Ireland; the introduction of Spanish wool for making fine cloths; improvements in stockings and fine stuffs, which enhanced the value of goods exported without consuming the English material in proportion,—possibly the runnage of wool in King William's reign might be very considerable, and from several circumstances probably, or rather plainly, was.

“ Again, admitting the medium of woollen exports in this reign to have been two millions per annum, and although in one year they amounted to near three; yet as this last was but in the same proportion, or thereabouts, to the whole exports from England in 1699, with exports of woollens, to the whole exports to Antwerp, 1564; so, comparing things with what was the state of trade in Queen Elizabeth's time, and making all due allowances for what hath been already mentioned, the woollen trade of England cannot be said so far to have exceeded in King William's reign what it was under Queen Elizabeth, as to afford any argument for a prohibition, rather than a duty on wool: and especially as the former, we have seen, did not prevent the exporting of wool, nor that, an increase of trade in general, and of the woollen trade in particular.”

FROM THE YEAR 1702 TO 1755.

Queen Anne, immediately on her accession, recommended to Parliament their preventing the exportation of wool; nevertheless, from that time to the union of North and South Britain, runnage of it hath appeared rather more than at any other period. In Scotland, for instance, by act of Parliament there, in 1704, 'twas allowed to be imported from England and Ireland, and again exported to foreign parts: consequently both Scotch, Irish, and English wools were thence publicly transported, chiefly to Holland, by reason of war with France, although some to that kingdom also, by means of French passes; insomuch that wool of Scotland,

that year, was commonly sold by farmers from thirty to thirty-three shillings sterling per tod, of two stones, sixteen pounds to the stone. And so excessive was the transportation mentioned, that the market of Amsterdam being rather overstocked, or otherwise the price of wool in Scotland having rose too high for that market, there was an abatement in the next year's price; but, nevertheless, it continued to be bought up for exportation.

Though the price of wool in England does not appear at this time by any account that is so well depended upon as in Scotland; yet was it, we may believe, somewhat in proportion; and withal, the woollen trade was very good, the whole exports from England being in 1703 near as much as they had been in 1699. And in the same year was signed at Lisbon, between Portugal and England, a treaty of commerce, which, by admitting all British woollen manufactures on the ancient accustomed terms, instantly was, and ever since hath proved to be, very advantageous to England, in the woollen trade particularly. Forasmuch as, from that treaty first taking place, the English began to bring away silver, when before, if not from the time of their prohibiting English cloths (which had continued forty years), yet from the time of their prohibiting more strictly, not only them, but cloth serges and cloth druggets (which had continued twenty years), the nation never had an overbalance there, so as to bring from thence either gold or silver.

The state of woollen manufactories in Scotland about the year 1705, appears to have been as follows:—they made of their own wool, stockings, at Aberdeen, from ten to thirty shillings a pair; broad cloth, about twelve shillings per yard; fignrins, bayse, serges, temmins, and all sorts of fine worsted camlets, and other stuffs, very near as good as in England; besides Glasgow playds, in which, as well as stockings, they excelled greatly all nations.

The union of both kingdoms commencing May 7, 1707, a stop was put to the open exportation of wool. Two acts passed,—one, to encourage dressing and dyeing of cloths within the kingdom, by laying a small duty on broad cloths exported white; the other, for permitting generally the exportation of all white woollen cloths whatsoever. These had

been prohibited by 14 and 15 Henry VIII. ; but by the patent of Queen Elizabeth, allowed to the Hamburgh Company, in a limited number, and by Charles II., in trust for the Countess of Portland, without limitation of number, for a term then expired ; whereupon a doubt having arisen at the custom-house touching the legality of exporting white cloths, &c., and the same having been not only judged beneficial, but declared to be necessary, 'twas enacted accordingly.

In 1708-9, the English trade was said to be in a very prosperous state every where, particularly at Lisbon, in consequence of the advantageous treaty above mentioned with that kingdom, and very large supplies of gold received by the the Portuguese from their mines in America : nevertheless, war with France continuing, and wool, for that reason, and by means of the union, being either smuggled in less quantities, or with more hazard and difficulty, it was from that time to the peace of Utrecht, a falling commodity in England.

At Utrecht, besides the peace, was concluded a treaty of commerce with France, that, fortunately for England, could not take effect, unless the Parliament should reduce the high duties, and take off those prohibitions, which had, by that authority, been wisely laid on French commodities.

This the Ministry attempted, although they had taken no care for English draperies being admitted into France upon any tolerable footing ; by which the nation must have relapsed into that underbalance of trade, and all those miseries consequently, which it had endured for a great part of the reign of Charles II., and during that short one of King James II., and with an additional disadvantage of foregoing a most profitable treaty of commerce with Portugal : but this attempt was so well opposed by those who better knew, or loved the interests of their country, than the Ministers did, that the bill they had prepared, notwithstanding their ascendancy in most other questions, was rejected by a majority of nine voices, which yet they did not despair of carrying at another meeting ; to which end, that session was dismissed with a hint from the throne, as if, to be approved, it only wanted to be more considered and rightly understood.

A hireling writer, under the title of “ Mercator, or Commerce Retrieved,” continued to vindicate the bill, and several

ingenious traders of consideration, countenanced and assisted by the Earl of Halifax and General (afterwards Earl) Stanhope, furnished out a paper against it, called "The British Merchant; or, Commerce Preserved."

The "Mercator" insisting much upon the benefits of foreign commerce, with France in particular, presumed greatly upon England's natural advantages from its produce—wool, which he affirmed to be of so peculiar a quality, that the nation wanted nothing more than to prevent its being exported raw, in order to command a trade in woollen goods, on any terms, with France and all other nations.

On the contrary, the "British Merchant" showed a demonstration, that the best trade of England was its domestic trade, so far as that should consist in the consumption of its own produce and manufactures, since home consumption (he said) made more than nineteen parts in twenty of the whole trade of England, which, as to home produce and manufactures, would be very much lessened by admitting French commodities, and that without a possibility of procuring any considerable vent for English woollens in France, where they not only stood barred effectually by very high duties, but the French themselves were great makers, and exporters too, of all kinds of woollen drapery; and without being obliged to England or Ireland for it, could not want wool in sufficient quantities for any part of woollen manufacture.

The "British Merchant" showed also what advantage England had by its treaty with Portugal, and that it would be losing the same inevitably to ratify the articles of commerce with France: it went still further, and showed, that by the peace of Utrecht, trade from England with Spain had insuperable difficulties, and, as such, the House of Lords represented that matter to the Queen.

Notwithstanding which, it was reckoned upon as one advantage resulting from the peace, that wool, which before was fifteen shillings per tod, did thereupon advance to eighteen shillings; but this was said to have been from a false expectation raised, by what was given out concerning the peace, before its terms were rightly understood; and that the nation, being soon undeceived, as well in regard to the Spanish as French trade, the same presently dropped again. N.B. This

was said by the "British Merchant," both of manufacture and the material; though, we believe, not quite truly, of the latter especially, and possibly for this reason, viz. because, upon the peace, wool from Ireland finding an easier passage to France, it went in larger quantities thither, and came in considerably less to England, viz. less by ten thousand packs in 1714 than in 1711.

King George, in a speech to his Parliament, March 2nd, 1714, observed, that by the peace trade was rendered impracticable, and, if not retrieved, their manufactures and navigation must be destroyed. This affair had, therefore, deservedly so much attention from the Government, that, December 14th, 1715, was ratified at Madrid a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Spain, by which, duties on English goods in Spain, that had been much raised in consequence of the Utrecht treaty, were lowered to what they had been in 1667; and besides, the French were to pay the same duties for their goods at dry ports, through which they passed by land carriage, as the English did for their imports and exports by sea; an advantage to England, which the treaty of Utrecht had not provided for.

It was signified to the Lords of Trade, &c., that stuffs, kerseys, linsey woolseys, flannels, &c., were manufactured in New England to the yearly value of fifty thousand pounds.

Exportation of wool and woollen manufacture from Ireland being matter of fresh complaint, an act passed, "for more effectual discovery and prosecution of offenders" in that way; and in the year following, runnage of wool from England occasioned an order of council, for "military officers on the coasts, to assist those of the customs in preventing it;" while, for two years successively, wool sold at a higher price than it had done for several before, or at any time since; therefore, under a notion, or pretence at least, that the French and other foreigners could not work up their own wool without a mixture of English or Irish, it was proposed in 1717, by Mr. Carey, merchant, of Bristol, to have a registry thereof, under the conduct of excise officers; but instead of that, two acts were passed, with further penalties and precautions against runnage.

Since wearing or otherwise using of calicoes dyed, stained,

painted, or printed in the East Indies had been prohibited, the business of printing, painting, staining, and dyeing them had been taken up in England, and prosecuted with so much success, that they had become a great fashion, and a very grievous one, by abating the use of silk and woollen manufactures of the kingdom, even to the occasioning a riot of Spittle-fields' weavers, which the trained bands were obliged to quell; and a person stiling himself "Merchant," undertook not only to condemn that riot, but to justify the use of calicoes, as interfering (he said) neither with silks, that were much dearer, nor worsteds, that were considerably cheaper.

In reply, the weavers' complaints were held to be very just, and the Merchant's argument for calicoes extremely confident and foolish. In the next session of Parliament, so many petitions were presented on that head, with such reasons given, that an act followed, "to preserve and encourage the woollen and silk manufactures of the kingdom, and for more effectually employing the poor, by prohibiting the using and wearing (after December 25th, 1722) of all printed, painted, stained, or dyed calicoes, except those dyed all blue." The like prohibition was extended to all stuff made of, or mixed with, cotton, printed, &c., "with an exception to muslins, neck-cloths, and fustians."

About this time, the plague raged at Marseilles, which, putting a stop to the French trade, demands abroad for English woollen goods were thereby supposed to be greatly increased; in fact, were somewhat enlarged, although the price of wool in England actually fell, and continued to decline till 1728, while the medium of English woollen exports (from 1725) was increased at the rate of about two hundred thousand pounds a-year.

During the effects of the plague in France, wool of Ireland, having a less vent there, was brought to England in greater quantities, and that is one very probable reason why the price of wool abated in England, although its trade abroad for woollens was increased.

But the cause of that interruption, which had been between France and Ireland, ceasing after the year 1724, and England from that time to 1728 having considerably less from Ireland than in the four preceding years, the commodity began to

advance a little at home, to the no small discontent of many dealers, who thenceforward projected the having it in greater plenty from Ireland, and with that view, to get the duty taken off from the wool there, and from Irish yarn, in both kingdoms.

It had been universally acknowledged, in the time of Charles II., that an increase of wool in Ireland had hurt the English grower, and through him the whole kingdom. But in process of time that argument was changed. One writer, indeed, was frank enough to confess that a total subtraction of Irish wool from England would make its own a better commodity; but at the same time insinuated how unreasonably impudent it would be in those landed gentry (whom contemptuously enough he styled "shepherds") of England, to entertain a thought so very selfish.

However, such a cavalier way of treating that point not being most likely to take, it was thought wiser (we cannot say, more honest) to argue after a different manner, by adopting a position some time before laid down, viz., that the seeming excess of wool in England was not at any time because we had too much from Ireland, but because we had not all. This was not otherwise to be made out but by the old state-system of one-third Irish or English being necessary to the working up of all foreign wool; so that every stone of Irish wool sent abroad was an accessory to the manufacturing of two stones more; consequently, every pack of wool brought from Ireland to England, instead of being sent elsewhere, was gaining a certain vent in manufacture for three packs; and therefore confessing, that *primâ facie* their scheme was against the English grower and spinner both, either of which they knew to be hard of digestion, they had nothing for it but to affirm roundly what made so much for their purpose, howsoever hard of belief. Accordingly, in the manner we have mentioned, they undertook to prove that every interest would find its account in Irish wool, and in yarn also, even to that of English spinning, which, it stood with their purpose at that time to say, was not only the dearest-earned money of any, but an inconsiderable part of woollen manufacture; although, upon another occasion, it had been asserted that the clothiers knew it to be above half; and certainly it is one considerable advantage from woollen manufacture, as an employment and maintenance for otherwise helpless women and children.

RUNNAGE OF WOOL COMPLAINED OF.

The duty was taken off from wool in Ireland; but the yarn remaining, it was thought convenient to affirm France, not getting the former as usual, admitted the latter to be imported, which before she would not receive.

So many were the complaints at this time of runnage and its consequences, that the Lords addressed his Majesty to direct the Commissioners of Trade, &c. to receive all proposals as should be laid before them, for preventing this pernicious practice." The commissioners, &c., after receiving notices in the *Gazette* and other public papers, reported (1731-2) several proposals they had received, as well from Ireland as England, most whereof concurred in preferring some scheme of registry, such as should keep sight of wool in both kingdoms, from its being shorn, &c. till it was completely manufactured; but signifying that this, in their opinion, would be a very expensive measure at least, if carried through multiplicity of accounts, impracticable; they therefore recommended register-ships for bringing wool, &c. from Ireland; and the rather, because they were credibly informed they said, that several British merchants had given an encouragement to the contraband trade of Ireland, by being deeply concerned therein on their own accounts. They gave it also further as their opinion, that in case an effectual stop could be put to the illicit trade of Ireland in wool, it would be highly proper not only to admit their yarn duty free, as well as wool, but to open all ports, both of Ireland and England, for that purpose.

The Commissioners of Trade, &c. reported also about this time a state of silk, linen, and woollen manufactories in British colonies and foreign plantations, not very favourable to the woollen manufactories in particular of their mother country. What the Lords Commissioners, &c. had mentioned of several British merchants going privately into the woollen trade of Ireland, was soon after verified by a public attempt in one to demonstrate that the rents and labour of England being too high, it was necessary to lower both by consigning to Ireland a share at least of the British traffic in woollens, urging for it those same false reasons that had before been given for importing, without duty, wool and yarn of that kingdom, namely, that the French particularly could not make cloth

for exportation without one-third of one or the other, Irish or English. So that, in order to deprive them by permitting the Irish to work up all their own, one-third only of that advantage could accrue to Ireland : the other two parts would be so much clear gain to England, and an entire ruin of all the cloth manufactories in France.

SMITH'S REMARKS.

“ The chief point for observation in these memoirs being how far the nation hath profited by an absolute prohibition on wool, rather than the more ancient policy, a duty on that material, to prevent its being exported? this is a question to be solved, not from mistaken ideas or imperfect scraps of intelligence, but from a clear comprehensive view of circumstances stated truly and fully; of facts regularly deduced and duly compared; and, therefore, we recapitulate as follows :—

“ England and Ireland have not the boasted superiority beyond all other kingdoms and countries in this material, wool, much less any thing like a sole power of furnishing that necessary for clothing, woollen manufacture.

“ Not only the making of drapery in England, but an exportation trade for it, is of far higher antiquity than Queen Elizabeth. It flourished greatly before her time; and as this trade was not certainly much more in that celebrated reign than from Edward VI. to the beginning of it, so an increase, if any, cannot be ascribed to her prohibiting the exportation of wool, because she never once did that in any shape.

“ Although King James and King Charles by proclamations at times, and the Long Parliament by an ordinance once, did inhibit the transportation of wool, yet, when so inhibited, being all along suffered to pass abroad by licenses, those state edicts had not the monopolist's effect of a prohibition in good earnest, by act of Parliament, as since the Restoration. Neither was the woollen trade of England, all circumstances considered, more upon the whole, but probably less, from the accession of King James to 1660, than it had been from Edward VI. to the last of Elizabeth.

“ In 1660 (not sooner) commenced the policy of prohibiting absolutely and seriously the exportation of wool; from which time to 1678 the manufacture trade declined prodigiously, compared with what it had been even during the reigns of James and Charles I. The price of wool was extremely low, beyond all example, and an illegal exportation of it a constant subject of complaint; and, although a prohibition of French commodities by act of Parliament

(1678) was of some advantage during the remaining time of Charles II., yet upon his demise King James II., repealing the above act in subserviency to the policies and power of France, the fair beneficial trade of England relapsed into its former sickly state, while that of Owling prevailed in course.

"Under King William's administration the prohibition on wool, and of all commerce with France, were prosecuted with resolution and vigour. The manufactures and whole trade of England, in consequence of wiser and better measures in the general than had been for a long term of years before, increased greatly, also, the price of wool, for several other reasons; yet not enough the woollen trade to prevent complaints on that head, or, in truth, to afford any argument for the prohibition preferable to a duty. For example, it was not comparatively greater than in the times of Queen Elizabeth, nor was there probably less running of wool in this period than under Charles II. and his immediate successor; at least, it appears to have been a notorious practice during the whole reign of King William.

"Lastly, as to the state of things since 1701—

"From Queen Anne's accession to the Union, runnage appeared rather more than at other times; nevertheless and notwithstanding complaints on that head, as before, the woollen trade kept its ground, so far as can be judged. The whole exports in 1703 were nearly equal to what they had been in 1699, an extraordinary year of that kind, although it is to be remembered wool was even then confessedly and notoriously run. In 1707-8, a committee of Commons reported that great quantities of wool had been clandestinely exported to foreign parts. In 1708-9, the English trade was said to be in a very prosperous state every where, particularly at Lisbon.

"From 1715 to 1728, the price of wool had remarkably its rise and fall. When highest (in 1717 and 1718), symptoms of runnage were strongest, and, being a falling commodity for the last seven years of this period, it was then imputed to a decay of trade, which, on the contrary, appeared afterwards to have gradually increased; reckoning, then, an increase of wool, and the practice of exporting it clandestinely to have obtained at all times from its being first prohibited, probably the same was not less during the reign of King George I. than of King William and Queen Anne.

"And although the medium of woollen exports from 1728 to 1742, inclusive, by what we learn from those Custom-house accounts that have occurred, increased rather more than in the foregoing reign; yet complaints again of runnage, and a decay

of the woollen trade, were more and greater than ever. Not only so, but a very low price for wool, during that whole term, was colourably urged in support of those complaints; indeed, the growth of this material in twenty years, to 1739, being supposed to have increased one-third, and considering what had been the case aforesaid, and which is much to be remarked, though extremely cheap, it was commonly bought up year by year from the grower. All these circumstances laid together, make it highly probable that in this period it was exported raw, in at least the same degree as at any time before, which opinion receives no little confirmation,—1st, from the Lords in Parliament having addressed his Majesty, about the year 1730, that ‘the Commissioners of trade might be directed to receive and report all such proposals as should be laid before them, for preventing that pernicious practice;’ 2nd, afterwards the Commons, in like manner, that the said Commissioners should prepare, (which accordingly was done), a scheme by way of prevention, for registering all wools grown in Britain and Ireland, which scheme was laid aside, it is to be conceived, considering what notions then prevailed, only for the reason of it, or any other possibly to be devised, being greatly inconvenient, if not, in the nature of things, wholly impracticable.

“The sudden rise of wool in 1743; its holding the same price, or thereabouts, for nine years successively, notwithstanding an increased growth of it, to the amount, as allowed, of one-third more in that short space, upon a medium (which we think to have been the very least); its flowing still higher in 1750 and 1751, although still more considerably increased; its great ebb in 1753, and being from that time bought up readily and fully as ever, are phenomena not to be explained by our custom-house accounts, (nor any other way to be equally credited), but (upon the supposition of runnage), 1st, by the advanced price of that commodity in foreign markets; 2nd, by its falling there afterwards; and of this, it so happens, we have some direct proof.

“For instance, the fictitious Sir J. Nichols hath informed the public, that in 1750 and 1751, (when it is to be noted they bore the highest price in England), the finest long wools of Lincolnshire had been sold on an average at sixteen pence a pound, which (he says) was an advance of 20 per cent. But where? The Lincolnshire grower, though sensible of at least twenty per cent. advance, knew nothing of such a price as sixteen pence a pound, which is thirty-seven shillings and four-pence per tod; nor of that price within twenty per cent., or any thing like it; and, therefore, the pretended Sir J., we think, is to be understood of the finest long Lincolnshire wools at a foreign market, and, if so, that accounts in

our way for the advance there was in England about the same time. Again, we learn certainly from an Amsterdam Price Current, March 15, 1753, that English wool sold there at from eight to ten stivers the pound, eleven of which stivers being equal to one English shilling, that was from about a guinea to 25s. per tod, a great drop from 37s. 4d. two years before, but very much in proportion to the fall of wool in England, where it was sold by the grower for about one-third less in 1753, than in 1750 and 1751; and English wool in Holland at from a guinea to 25s., when the same in England was from 13s. to 17s., is nearly the same difference as 37s. 4d. abroad, in 1750 and 1751, for wool at home at about 24s. These two instances, then, prove that the price of English wool, at those times particularly, was about one-third less at home than in foreign markets, which markets, though they are apt to vary, yet that of England being always, since the prohibition, so much at least as mentioned under them, it explains, for one reason, 1st, why English wool in England hath commonly been at a much lower price, and why it hath never rose so high since the Restoration as oftentimes before; it accounts, 2nd, for the almost constant complaints that have been made from that time of runnage, as in course imagined a declining woollen trade, evidenced for the most part, according to vulgar belief, by such very low price of wool. But here note, we shall show, beyond a possibility of contradiction, that though complaints of a declining woollen trade have been a mistake ever since the Revolution, yet runnage of wool hath been no fiction, but all along a reality.

"This last, indeed, is the general fruit of a prohibition, the virtues whereof, its force and operation, are plainly no other than an unnatural artificial cheapness, which always did, and so long as it continues, will produce runnage; and though the bulk of English writers have constantly denied, and, by assigning other reasons and motives, have endeavoured to conceal the true cause, yet our feigned Sir J. Nichols, otherwise Monsieur —, of Versailles, frankly admits it, as needs he must, after seeing all contrary pretences substantially refuted; and, therefore, thinking it best to face about manfully, he hath had courage to affirm, that it is a valuable circumstance for England that the prohibition, being in the nature of a lock to a running stream, it holds up this material to a pitch of plenty and cheapness,—nay, to an over-abundance or superfluous waste that must pass abroad; yet the same dripping off insensibly, not without expense and difficulty, by private ways and means of owlers and smugglers, it is (he says) quite the best that can be for England, only 'diminishing in other countries the multiplication of their sheep more than it does the work of our manu-

facturers :’ therefore, (adds he), ‘ the prohibition ought to be for ever continued.’ French kindness ! Counsel from France to its old loving and beloved neighbour, England !

“ But although this gentleman hath, with sufficient ingenuity, put our prohibition in the very best light it will bear, to be consistent with truth ; yet by his favour, and with all due thanks for his benevolence, as, from the Restoration it hath been almost incessantly endeavoured, though without due effect, to stop those chinks which, if neglected, are apt to grow wider by time : so we presume it will continue to be thought the proper object of care and contrivance. Well were it, if those who have things much in their power, would club their consideration and influence accordingly ! For without giving into idle extravagant notions concerning the quality of English and Irish wools, either for mixing, or &c.—As the quantity run whatever it be, is most undoubtedly wrought up abroad ; so it is more likely that the same, if possible to be retained at home, might have a foreign vent in manufacture ; or, if not possible to be retained, that certainly it might be disposed of in a way more just to individuals, for the public more beneficial ; and, therefore, instead of acquiescing in that oppressive cheapness so highly applauded ; instead of approving that consequential, and, we think, pernicious runnage, so wantonly palliated by an amphibious author, we should now proceed to what we are verily persuaded hath a far more kindly aspect to the nation, in every rational, worthy, honest view. But first, to evidence, as was proposed, that complaints of a declining woollen trade have, from the Revolution, been founded in mistake ; not so, those concerning runnage of wool : resuming such custom-house accounts as have occurred in this eighteenth century, we shall exhibit them in several lights, and thence show how they witness, with much uniformity, the same things. In doing this, we shall desire at first to have it taken for granted that those accounts of woollen exports are not only the best rule of comparison which the subject does afford, but for the purpose a tolerable good one : afterwards, we shall go near to prove them such.

“ Those accounts we refer to (it is proper to mention it) are all of the kind we have been able to obtain : they were procured by the author, not without difficulty, at three different times, for so many distinct reasons :—

“ First, from 1718 to 1724 inclusive, as one means to ascertain what had been the state of things at and about the time of the plague at Marseilles, concerning which much had been said, and often, that the author, knowing in one respect, and having reason to think in another, was not true, it stood with the design of his work, if so, to undeceive the nation in that particular also ;—



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secondly, from 1738 to 1743 inclusive, in order to see what was to be said for so sudden rise of wool in 1743, and whether that intelligence he received from Gloucestershire was probable or not, —thirdly, from 1744 to 1753 inclusive, for the sake of informing himself and the public still further, of the true reason why wool kept its price for nine years together, under such a manifest increased growth of it, for sundry causes, that the like had never been known before in this kingdom; and which continuation of price was more surprising because for five years it was a time of war, and some of it rebellion too—circumstances not commonly favourable to the manufactures and trade of any nation: he was also curious to know, if the reason then assigned, namely, an ebb of trade, was a true one, for the fall of wool one-third, in 1753.

“Accordingly, we shall first exhibit the above-mentioned accounts in three distinct periods, as they were taken, of seven, six, and ten years; giving both the total and annual medium of each period, which we presume is a fair way of considering the same; next, we shall compare them as the nation was in peace or war; lastly, as wool rose and fell in price, and as the growth of it was increased.

The total of woollen exports from 1718 to 1724 inclusive, being seven years, £20,740,168	The yearly medium of woollen export from 1718 to 1724 inclusive, £2,962,861 2s. 10d.
Total from 1738 to 1743 inclusive, being six years, £21,003,715	The yearly medium from 1738 to 1743 inclusive, £3,500,619 2s. 4d.
Total from 1744 to 1753 inclusive, being ten years £37,371,478	The yearly medium from 1744 to 1753 inclusive, £3,737,147 16s. 0d.
	£. s. d.
The yearly increase on a medium, from 1738 to 1743 inclusive, beyond the medium from 1718 to 1724 inclusive	537,798 0 6
The yearly increase on a medium from 1744 to 1753 inclusive, beyond the medium from 1738 to 1743 inclusive	236,528 12 8
The yearly increase on a medium from 1744 to 1753 inclusive, beyond the medium from 1718 to 1724 inclusive	774,266 13 2

“What hath been remarked before, on those accounts from 1718 to 1724, is unnecessary to be repeated, so that it is enough to observe here a progressive increase in the woollen trade; such as carries with it an appearance of probability, agreeable to the sentiment of persons best informed, and willing to acknowledge this truth, viz., that the whole trade of England hath been in a growing state ever since the Revolution, and more particularly for forty years last past. It is true, the increase on a medium of woollen exports from 1738 to 1743, exceeds that from 1744 to 1753; but, considering a chasm in our accounts of 13 years, from 1725 to 1737 inclusive, and withal, supposing it probable that the total of 1738 singly exceeds the medium of that year taken with some preceding ones,

it seems as if the woollen trade had been all along increasing, somewhat the same, though not in exact geometrical proportion (for that is not to be expected); and this affords one mark of credibility to our Custom-house accounts; it is an argument that they are not, as some would have them believed, like so many figures thrown together by chance or at random.

“ This progressive increase, then, of the woollen trade, we note against Mr. Postlethwayt in particular, who had charged persons holding any such opinion with arguing against demonstration; and what is that gentleman's demonstration?—a vain pretence, that first, the Flemings, since the English, furnished the whole world with all their woollens; but that lately, and not till very lately, some other nations had begun to clothe themselves and their neighbours. This we cannot allow to be true history in any regard, neither can any testimony be offered to invalidate what hath been here produced, to evidence that complaints of a declining woollen trade have, from the Revolution, been founded in mistake; nevertheless, the medium of woollen exports from 1744 to 1753, notwithstanding what increase there is beyond the medium from 1738 to 1743, proves to a real demonstration runnage of wool in no little quantities, as will be evinced before we dismiss these two last accounts, which we shall next compare, according as the nation was in peace or war:—

	£.	s.	d.
Total Woollen Exports in 1738, the year before the war with Spain	4,158,643	0	0
The yearly medium of Woollen Exports from 1739, the beginning of the war, to 1748 inclusive, viz., the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle,	3,327,057	8	0
The yearly medium of Woollen Exports from 1749, the first year of peace, to 1753 inclusive,	4,189,195	0	0
The medium decrease during war, from the total of 1738, ...	831,585	12	0
The medium increase since the peace, to 1753 inclusive,	862,137	12	0
The medium increase since the peace to 1753, exceeds the medium decrease during the war,	30,552	0	0

N.B. As there is nothing in all this but what is very probable: so they are circumstances that do contribute further to the credit of these accounts.

“ Lastly, then, to compare Custom-house accounts, according to the price that wool bore from time to time, and according to the quantity produced,—

	£.	s.	d.
The yearly medium of Woollen Exports from 1738 to 1742 inclusive, when wool was at the very lowest,	3,492,432	8	0
The yearly medium of Woollen Exports from 1743 (when wool advanced considerably,) to 1749 inclusive, during which time its price continued much the same, although the quantity produced was greatly more	3,492,130	3	3

PROGRESSIVE INCREASE OF WOOLLEN EXPORTS. 107

	£.	s.	d.
The yearly medium from 1750 to 1752 inclusive, when the price of wool advanced still higher by at least 20 per cent., and the yearly growth was considerably more increased,	4,081,630	6	8
Total of Woollen Exports, 1753, when wool fell about one-third of its price, from that of 1750-51,	4,223,328	0	0
The medium decrease yearly from 1743 to 1749 inclusive, (the wool being more and dearer), compared with the yearly medium from 1738 to 1742 inclusive, when, though the growth of wool was very much less, yet it was vastly cheaper,	301	2	8½
Total of Woollen Exports in 1753 (when wool fell one-third from its price in 1750-51,) exceeds the medium from 1730 to 1752 inclusive,	141,002	13	4

" Since the increase of wool is too evident to be disallowed, we can have no dispute about the runnage of it being a certain matter of fact with those who deny a progressive increase of the English woollen trade, and on the contrary, urge its having declined year after year. But two points we maintain are, first, the woollen trade hath increased progressively: secondly, running of wool hath, nevertheless, prevailed in no small degree.

" The first of these appears evidently; and in order to prove the second, viz., that running of wool is no chimera, we desire, first, to lay our finger particularly upon the ten years' period from 1744 to 1753 inclusive, compared with that immediately foregoing from 1738 to 1743; after which we shall greatly strengthen our proof by some other comparisons. The medium yearly increase of woollen exports, in this long period of ten years, compared with the six next preceding, was no more than £236,528 12s. 8d.; but the increased growth of the raw material, wool, through very remarkable incidents, far exceeded that value in the first instance.

" Need we say what those incidents were that could or did occasion an increase in England of wool? Besides many lesser causes conspiring, they were principally, first, the distemper and mortality of horned cattle; secondly, several dry summers, and some very favourable winters; thirdly, the advanced price of wool. This last and the first being too notorious to be forgot or denied, they are obvious ways of accounting for the increase of that commodity being attempted; which, though unkindly seasons might have frustrated in some measure, yet was not that the case at all, but the reverse, more than had been known for so many years together in this century at least. If it be asked, how much was that increase? 'tis impossible to answer exactly: 'twas confessed publicly to have been one-third more, and we believe it was the very least.

“ The author, conversing on this point with a sensible honest grazier in 1752, he did acknowledge that, for his own part, he had then latterly grown 200 tods of wool on the same farm (consisting wholly of enclosed pasture ground, without any right of common in fens, &c.) which ten years before had been used to produce him not more than about 100 tods ; and the very reason assigned by him for this double portion was, the distemper of horned cattle, that had, in a great measure, obliged him to do it ; and besides, the price of wool had been a further inducement. This being a common case of the county (Lincolnshire), the increase of the kingdom, he was sensible upon the whole, must have been prodigiously great, and that one-third more was a very moderate computation ; especially (added he) ‘ considering besides, what is a general circumstance, how much more than two-fold that stock hath been for the last ten years upon innumerable fens and commons in particular, usually depastured with sheep, although subject to diminution by rotting in wet summers ; but for contrary reasons being sound and healthy all the time, and far beyond what can be remembered for so long a term together, the flocks there have multiplied exceedingly.’ Moreover, he took notice, ‘ that some large districts in several counties, before the distemper wholly addicted to horned cattle, having necessarily changed their measures, larger quantities of wool were then grown where it was not a commodity at all before.’

“ And therefore, without pretending to estimate the whole yearly quantity of wool, or the proportion of home consumption to our exportation trade for the manufacture, we think it may be safely affirmed that an increase of woollen exports to the annual amount, on a medium, of only £236,528 12s. 8d., was by no means in proportion to the annual increased growth of wool. If the latter was but one-third, on a medium, the former was not one-fourteenth. Under these circumstances, the advanced price of it, as was the case, is a mystery not to be unfolded without a supposition of runnage,—especially considering that, while the quantity produced was so much less, a general belief prevailed of wool being even then run, and though not in the excessive quantities that some extravagantly represented, yet to such a degree, that it was publicly and solemnly considered how to contrive a scheme of registry for preventing it.

“ But further : if, varying our comparison, we take of these ten years only five, viz., from 1744 to 1748 inclusive, it will be found that the annual medium from 1738 to 1743 (viz., of six years immediately preceding those five) exceeded them by upwards of £215,500 yearly ; which shows the affair of runnage in a more

clear and yet stronger light. Nay, if we leave out the year 1738, as perhaps an extraordinary one, still the medium from 1739 to 1743 exceeds that of the five next following years by near £84,000 per annum. Or, if we compare the last four years before wool did advance, viz., from 1739 to 1742 inclusive, with the next four after such advance, viz., from 1743 to 1746 inclusive, the medium of the former exceeds the latter more than £100,000 per annum.

" Lastly, if we compare the medium from 1738 to 1742 inclusive (while wool was at the lowest, and the quantity far less) with the medium from 1743 (when wool advanced at once considerably) to 1749 inclusive (during which time the price of wool kept up, notwithstanding that the quantity produced was greatly more), the medium decrease in this last period, compared with the medium of that next before, was £301 2s. 8½d. Such advanced price of the material, under such an increased growth of it, with even this last, though inconsiderably small, decrease of woollen exports, instead of a very large increase, as naturally one would have expected, is no way rationally to be accounted for, but upon the foot of monage.

" Viewing, then, our Custom-house accounts referred to in each of the above lights singly, they are strong signs of wool-running; and, considered altogether, they prove it most evidently against those who will have the price of wool to be the surest test of an increase or decrease in the woollen exportation trade; whereas, in most instances we have been able to produce, it appears to be no test at all: and particularly it is to be noted of 1753 (when wool fell one-third of its price from what it had been two years before, and for which was pretended a stagnation of business) the exports of that very year exceeded the medium of the three next preceding ones (in two of which wool had risen to the very highest) £141,602 13s. 4d.

" Our French, or Frenchified Sir J. Nichols, aware of these frequent disagreements between the price of English wool in England and woollen exports from thence, turns his argument in favour of the prohibition a contrary way, and says, whenever the material is lowest in England, exports of manufacture are then always highest, for that very reason; and he calls to witness this, our Custom-house accounts. But those of 1749, 1750, and 1751, do not prove his point, rather the reverse: at least, they are an exception to his rule.

" 'Tis true, the medium increase annually, from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to 1753 inclusive, is £862,137 12s., but that exceeding the medium decrease, during war with Spain and France, only £30,552 per annum: it by no means accounts for the surplus

we must suppose to have arisen, both from such decrease of trade, and from the so very much increased growth of wool as was indisputably in that period.*

“Neither was there a deficiency in the usual imports of wool and yarn from Ireland, to eke out the shadow of an argument that way. Custom-house accounts we have on this head from 1745 to 1750, tell us that the annual medium of both together in that term was 205,532½ stones; but the annual medium from 1741 to 1744 inclusive, was only 128,911 stones; and from 1726 to 1729 inclusive, not more than 132,398½ stones. So that here was comparatively no small increase of wool, as well as yarn, imported from Ireland. Whence we might very plausibly infer, first, as if the advanced price of wool in England had made consequently an increased import of that material raw from Ireland; and that it is an argument of what the fruits might, and certainly indeed would be, if, runnage being once effectually prevented, wool bore commonly a better price with us, that is, if it was brought more nearly to a level with the market price of Europe. But, secondly, we may, and very truly observe, how little such increased imports did in fact avail towards depriving foreigners at this time, (1745–1750) or must do at all others, so long as an illicit trade from England shall obtain, that it is only like pouring water into a vessel already edge full, and running over. For that was eminently the case at the time we are speaking of; and we may be assured, wool and yarn from Ireland, when not actually wanting, always did, and ever will, but quicken the current of English wool to foreign markets. Thirdly, it is further to be noted from the premises, that howsoever guilty the people of Ireland are in the matter of wool running, they are neither sole, nor, as Mr. Postlethwayt with many others thinks them, principal aggressors in that way.

“Upon the whole, after such manifest proof, *à posteriori*, it does not signify against the truth, of wool being run from England, that we are at a loss to say by what canals it passes beyond sea. Were those known, they would be damm'd up; but still, under the same pressure, 'twould burst out in some other places.”

• WOOLLEN EXPORTS.

Price of Wool per tod
from the same farm.

Total 1718 }	£5,423,993.....	} £1 1s.
1719 }		} £1 0s. 6d.
1738 }	£7,376,916.....	} 13s. 6d.
1739 }		} 13s. 0d.
1738 }	£4,158,643.....	} 13s. 6d.
1743 }	£3,541,558.....	} 19s. 6d.

CHAPTER II.

PREVIOUS TO THE YEAR 1750.

Irish Pamphlets—Smuggling Wool from Ireland to England—Ports in England for Importation—Penalties for Smuggling—Woollen Manufacture discouraged in Ireland—Thoughts on a Bill in the House of Lords—Distinction between Colonies for Trade and Colonies for Empire—The Grazier's Complaint—The Rents of Ireland spent in London—Wool of England sufficient for the Wants—Increase of Inclosures and Tillage Land—Increased Number of Sheep—Consequences of importing Wool from Ireland—Rents and Cost of Living in Ireland—The Wool equal to Half the Rentals—Comparison between English and Irish Farms—Lincolnshire—Number of Acres—Number of Sheep—Quantity of Wool—Number of Parishes—Rents in South Britain—Persons employed in the Woollen Manufacture—Persons employed in the Growth of Wool—*Excidium Anglicæ*—The Effects of Smuggling Wool—Superior Quality of English Wool—Comparison with various Foreign Wools—Thoughts on the Woollen Manufacture of England—Observations on the present State of Ireland and the Woollen Manufacture—Remarks on the English Woollen Manufacture, and preventing the Export of Irish Wool—A Scheme to prevent the Running of Irish Wool and Woollens, by prohibiting the Importation of Spanish Wool into Ireland—Labour employed in making Cloth—Calculation of Time and Cost, and Division of Labour in making Cloth—Comparison of Labour in working Spanish and Irish Wool—Cost of Subsistence in Ireland—Reduced Growth of Wool in Ireland—Computation of Woollen Manufacture of Ireland—Wool and Woollen Yarn imported into England from Ireland—French Manufactures dependant on Irish Wool—State of Trade in Ireland—Effect of Restrictions on the Price of Horses and Cattle in Ireland—Origin and Rise of the Provision Trade in Ireland—Effect of Restrictions on the Woollen Manufactures of Ireland—True Principles of Commerce.

THOUGH some of the pamphlets relating to wool and the woollen manufactures of Ireland, were noticed by Smith, the vast importance, as regards the peace and prosperity of that country, which resulted from those measures, was not contemplated; it may be well therefore to revert to the wool and woollen trade of that kingdom previous to, and about that period.

Great complaints had been long made, that Irish wool, the exportation of which was strictly prohibited, was smuggled to France and Flanders under the pretext, that the shipments

were intended for England; and in order to prevent them, an act passed the British legislature in 1696, defining such ports in England to which alone it should be exported: viz. to Whitehaven, Liverpool, Chester, Bristol, Bridgwater, Minehead, Barnstaple, and Biddiford.

That law being considered insufficiently binding, it was amended in 1698-9, and, retaining the above-mentioned English ports for importation, the exportation from Ireland was prohibited under forfeiture of ships and cargoes, and a penalty of £500 inflicted, except the wool was sent from Dublin, Waterford, Youghall, Kinsale, Cork, and Drogheda.

They were not idle also in England, for in 1698 the House of Lords addressed King William, urging upon him the necessity of discouraging the woollen manufactures of Ireland, the increase of which had given umbrage to the people of England.

In this state of affairs, the feelings of the Irish were greatly excited, and the following pamphlets made their appearance:—

“ Some Thoughts on the Bill depending before the Right Honourable the House of Lords, for Prohibiting the Exportation of the Woollen Manufactures in Ireland:” published in London, 1698, and a second edition printed in Dublin, 1740.

“ The establishing colonies, my Lords, is often done by establishing the conquering army in some part of the conquered lands; sometimes by sending a number of young people to inhabit them; but always by giving them encouragement,—that it will be their interest to keep the natives in subjection.

“ This is the case of Ireland; that after five hundred years, fifty-two rebellions and massacres, to the loss of a million of English, the conquering army often planted in the country, and multitudes besides leaving England to inhabit there, almost the whole country has at last got into English hands; and, if we should lay such difficulties upon them that they would think it their interest to leave the country, or not be very solicitous for the English interest there, I submit to your Lordships’ wisdom whether that kingdom may not hereafter give us fresh trouble.

" I suppose, and hope I may say without offence, that the better any people are used the better subjects they will make. And here, my Lords, I would distinguish between colonies for trade and colonies for empire. The first is when a number of people are sent forth to plant commodities which our native country does not produce, as in the West Indies; or else when they are sent to negotiate a trade with the natives, and build forts for their security, as in Africa and the East Indies. In both these cases it hath been usual to restrain their whole trade to their mother country, for there can be no other reason for their establishment; and their number being small, they will have a sufficient encouragement for all their charges, industry, and hazard.

" But colonies for empire stand upon quite different reasons. They are always planted to keep great countries in subjection, and prevent the charge and hazard of constant standing armies. These have always received the utmost encouragement; much less have been restrained from making the best advantage of their natural products, and leaving their whole trade restrained to their mother kingdom. But with humble submission, the case of Ireland is yet harder; for by this act they will be restrained to carry their woollen manufactures to foreign parts; and the impositions formerly laid are insufficient to hinder them from coming hither, so that they must carry them nowhere.

" But, my Lords, if we had destroyed the woollen manufacture of Ireland, is it necessary, that all will be made in England that is hindered from being made in Ireland. That is a Tartar's conceit, that if they kill any man they will immediately enjoy his wisdom and his beauty. But I am afraid this will not be the case of England; for Holland, Scotland, Venice, Germany, and Frankfort, pretend to the woollen manufacture as well as they; and France hath been always equal, if not superior to us, in their skill of making stuffs; and, can it be conceived that they will not share, if not in a great measure engross, the benefit we propose in the destruction of that manufacture in Ireland? If so, then, how much more will it be to our advantage to receive the whole profit at second-hand, than, at best, to divide it with other nations, and chiefly to France, which hath always sent stuffs to Spain and Portugal,

as well as England? And these are the only nations I have heard of, which Ireland hath dealt with in that kind; and though for a few years before the war, Ireland might increase in their manufactures of stuffs, yet it is very plain it was not upon the ruins of England; and it seems a very hard case to hinder Ireland from enriching themselves, and in consequence, this kingdom, at the expense of other nations.

“But, it seems, we are particularly afraid of Ireland, because, we are told, they can underwork us, and send their commodities to a foreign market cheaper than we, which fact, with humble submission, is otherwise. It appears by the Custom-house books of Ireland, that the woollen manufactures imported into Ireland from England is ten times the value of what is exported from Ireland to the rest of the world.

“But if, my Lords, notwithstanding all that may be said, it shall be thought the interest of England to destroy the woollen manufactures of Ireland, there is an easier and gentler mode of doing it. The power of the Government is very great in that country, and may give it secret discouragement, and let it decline by degrees; they may divert it by setting up the linen manufacture in the places where the woollen now prospers; but with the utmost submission I say it, that it seems too severe to tell them and the whole world in so solemn a manner, that they shall not manufacture any other product: it bears a sting in the tail of it, and teaches them this hard lesson, that whenever hereafter, they, with great charge, hazard, and years of industry, arrive to a degree of perfection in any thing, if it appear to be the real or mistaken interest of England to suppress it, all their hopes and endeavours shall be dashed to pieces in a moment. Their cattle are already prohibited; their corn, their leather and tallow are all in a great measure; they cannot come from the West Indies, but must touch in England. But this bill goes further yet: it says in effect, they shall not bring their manufactures here, or carry them anywhere else. Why may they not expect that another Parliament will say, that carrying abroad their beef will lessen the price of our beef, the carrying abroad their corn will lessen the price of our corn, and so as to the rest of their commodities, and with so much the greater probability, as they have precedents of this act to justify the reasonableness of it? I have

often lamented that some method has not been found out, to make England and Ireland join hand in hand in the same interest; that England may not look upon Ireland as rivals in their trade, nor Ireland upon England as severe masters, who would sacrifice them upon any imaginary, and perhaps mistaken advantage. I doubt not, but expedients of this kind may be offered; but it is not now my province; it is a subject worthy of the legislative power, and your Lordships' wisdom, but I humbly conceive acts to ruin their trade will work a quite contrary effect, and make Ireland look upon England, instead of their protector, as the check to all their endeavours and the obstacle to all their hopes."

Another pamphlet, not noticed by Smith, and taking the side of the English wool grower, was—

"THE GRAZIER'S COMPLAINT AND PETITION FOR REDRESS, or the necessity of restraining Irish Wool and Yarns, and of raising and supporting the Price of Wool of the Growth of Great Britain, considered by a Lincolnshire Grazier. 1726."

He commences with complaints of agricultural distress, and of the low price of English wool:—

"As the landed interest in general, and the county of Lincoln in particular, are already and likely to continue great sufferers, under the present low price of wool, it may not, perhaps, be an unacceptable service to my fellow-graziers and countrymen, to inquire into the causes of its late declension in value; to insist more fully upon that which appears to be most material, most necessary to be restrained, and most capable of redress, and to submit both the grievances and the remedy where alone they can be properly debated and determined,—to the wisdom and authority of Parliament."

He attributes the low price of wool to the following causes:—

"To so great a proportion of the rents of Great Britain being spent in London.

"The money subscribed out of all quarters of the kingdom to the public funds.

"The amount raised in taxes being sent to London, and no adequate return being made to the country, rendering

money scarce amongst the agriculturists, increasing the number and necessities of the sellers, and at the same time lessening the substance and proportion of the buyers. Also,

“ That there is at present too great a quantity of wool in Great Britain, more than the national trade and manufactures require or can dispense with, seems very apparent, and several probable reasons may be assigned.

“ Many gentlemen of estate, in all parts of the kingdom, for the improvement of their land and the advancement of their rents, have, of late years, very much fallen into measures, which either the frugality of their ancestors had no occasion for, or their generous spirits disdained to have recourse to, viz., the grubbing up their woods, the dismantling of their parks, and exposing them to the plebeian services of tillage and grazing ; the inclosing their open commons, and converting many thousand acres of arable into pasture land, all which, as they have actually made a very great addition to their general stock of sheep, have consequently increased the yearly growth of wool to a much greater quantity than the same lands, unimproved, produced before.

“ By these means, and the care of the government in preventing any public or private exportation, the quantity of wool growing and worked up in Great Britain has, of late years, considerably augmented, so as to be very near sufficient to answer the demands of our manufacturers without any large supplies from abroad. Now this, it is certain, is very far from being any real grievance to us, or attended with any national ill consequences, however it may affect some particular counties in lowering the price of their wool ; for, where the material and the workmanship are entirely our own, then whatever is acquired by either is so much clear national profit, nothing that is foreign being introduced, or claiming any share of discount in it. The increase of British wool cannot, therefore, of itself, have any ill effect in abating the price, unless either the quantity produced, or the quantity of foreign wool permitted to be imported, be so great as to exceed the demand of our makers. The former, we are assured, does not, and therefore whatever disproportion there may be betwixt the present quantity of wool and its vent, must be ascribed to the latter, viz., the importation of wool of

foreign growth, as the great and principal cause of so pernicious an effect. It being evident that a considerable part of our wool must either stick on hand, or be sold at an under-rate, when the market is supplied in a plentiful and cheaper manner from another place.

"The reasons hitherto considered by us have, no doubt, in part, contributed either to advance the quantity of our native wool, or to settle the value of it. But what has a more immediate and fatal effect in prejudicing the sale of our native wool, increasing the general quantity, and lowering the price of it, is a legal hardship, a partnership in wool and its primary manufactures, indulged and granted by law to the public of Ireland, to those who are in truth likely to prove the most dangerous competitor we have in either. The privileges of bringing over their wool, and afterwards their yarn, were, no doubt, permitted and designed at first for the advancement of trade, and for the relief and benefit of Ireland, and answered accordingly; but being now imported duty free, and rising yearly to greater consequence, (which was never intended), is of infinite detriment to the landed interest, and to the growers of wool in England.

"It is, in some measure, a misfortune to both kingdoms, to have the same natural situation, the same kind of soil, the same product of land, the same capacities of improvement by trade, from the very same manufactures, so that England cannot take its full scope in trade without constraining and cramping that of Ireland. On the other hand, Ireland cannot fall into any branch of our woollen manufacture, without greatly prejudicing and impoverishing England.

"For as the land of Ireland is at least one-third lower in the rent, and the way of living and labour at the least one-third cheaper than here, it is evident that in whatever instances their trade, or the products of their land and labour, interfere with ours, they will considerably undersell us, and, consequently, not only have the priority of sale, but even exclude us, till their turn is served, out of our markets.

"A grazier that hopes to live and thrive upon his farm, expects one-half of his rent payable in wool, and the other half from the carcases of his breeding and feeding stock, together with an overplus in both, to contribute towards his

own maintenance, and that of a servant or labourer, requisite for the management of his land. Let us suppose that he rents £60 per annum: he keeps 160 sheep; that the fleeces run at four and a half per tod, amounting to 35 5-9ths to 36 tods; and that the labour and maintenance of two persons for half a year is computed at £9. Let us suppose again, that an Irish grazier cuts the same quantity of wool off for £40 a year which the English does at £60, and that their labour, necessaries of life, and the charges of maintaining their respective farms bear the same proportion, the account will stand thus:—

ENGLISH.	IRISH.
Half year's rent .....£30	Half year's rent .....£20
Maintenance and labour..... 9	Maintenance and labour..... 6
<hr/>	<hr/>
£39	£26
Wool, 36 tods, at 15s. per tod, 27	Wool, 36 tods at 15s. per tod, 27
<hr/>	<hr/>
Deficiency . ....£12	Gain £1
Difference £13.	

“ From hence it appears upon what different terms the products of England and Ireland will stand, exposed to sale in the same markets, and that the Irish can undersell us 7s. per tod in the wool, and be, notwithstanding, upon an equal or better footing than ourselves.

“ But if instead of this state of the account, we suppose the product of £60 per annum pasture ground (as it more generally is,) to be but 140 fleeces, and those to run to five per tod, equal to 28 tods, and to be sold at 13s. per tod, amounting to £18 4s., which is near the present price, and a mean proportion in the greater part of pasture wool, it is plain, according to this estimate, that in wool, instead of defraying half a year, will not be equivalent to a quarter's rent and charges, especially if, according to Sir William Petty or Dr. Davenant's computation, we view the account upon the English score, and sink the value of Irish rent, labour, and necessaries of life to half the proportion, which will still further widen the difference, and allow a greater latitude for gain on the Irish side, and increase the disadvantage to the English.

" Upon this account, and more especially since the prohibition of Irish cattle, the graziers there have turned their attention and industry more towards increasing the general breed of their sheep, than is in truth consistent with the landed interest here; and by the vast quantities of wool and yarn they yearly ship, they have of late made such advances, and continue growing so fast upon us, that in all appearance we must in some little time sink under the advantages they have over us, unless the legislative power repress the growing mischief, and interpose with timely care and vigour to prevent our ruin.

" We are no doubt bound in many cases to submit our private interests and concerns to the common good of our country; but no patriotism, no public spirit extends so far as to oblige us to suffer great and lasting inconvenience for the sake of a foreign nation, though it be dependent upon us. 'Tis generous to acquiesce under the loss or diminution of our properties when our native country is benefited, and our liberties secured by it; but 'tis unreasonable to expect we should pay the same compliment to Ireland, and to be easy under the impoverishment of our inhabitants to enrich them.

" As the land is the most considerable national interest, and that of pasture land the most valuable of the landed, and wool the principal article of the support of both, it seems too dear a purchase to court the dependance of Ireland at the expense of the most valuable product of our native soil, and by making that unsaleable and of little value in our market, in favour of Irish wool and yarn, which used to be a constant fund of wealth and credit to us, supplying our wants, answering the demand of foreigners, and enriching ourselves.

" The importation of Irish wool and yarn appearing, then, in many instances, prejudicial to us, let us proceed to inquire into the general damage which the graziers and landed interest here may be presumed to receive from it. And herein a distinct account of the quantities of wool and yarn shipped and landed at the several licensed ports, and to what branches of the woollen manufacture distributed, would enable such as are better versed in political arithmetic to be tolerably just in their computation and accurate in their conclusions. But since inquiries or inspections of this nature lie without the

reach of men of private interests and narrow fortunes, we must content ourselves either with the imperfect information we can get, or with the most rational conjecture we can make.

“ The general survey of the county of Lincoln is usually rated at 1,760,000 acres. Let us then, for fear of having overstretched the measure, strike off at once for weeds, wastes, towns, land lying under water, or otherwise unserviceable for grazing, 500,000. The remainder (which to those who are acquainted with the fertility of the soil in the western, the northern, the fenny and marshy parts of the county, will appear a very moderate proportion,) let us rate at one sheep per acre, amounting to 1,260,000 sheep. As the felted wool must be included in this valuation equally with the pasture, let us compute eight fleeces to the tod, and then the total produce of the county of Lincoln will, by such reduction, appear to be 157,500 tods.

“ To examine the justice of this estimate, I proceeded by another medium, and computing the number of parishes in the county, viz., 630, and rating every parish, one with the other, at two loads and a half of wool, or 260 tods per parish, the two sums arising from the different operations appeared surprisingly coincident, amounting each to 157,500 tods, without the least variation.

“ These premises being thus laid down, it is evident that the advance or fall of every twelve-pence per tod in the price of wool make an addition or abatement of near £8,000 out of the public stock, or current cash of the county; and consequently, if wool has been gradually sinking, and in seven years fallen from 21s. to 13s. per tod, it is plain the stock of current cash in the hands of graziers will be diminished in the same proportion, and that there must be in that one article, besides other heads of discount, about £63,000 less ready money to carry on the general trade of the county, than there was before.

“ Some people indeed confidently assert, and others are credulous to imagine, that the importation of Irish wool and yarn is of little detriment to us; that besides Lincoln and Leicestershire, the other parts of the kingdom are little affected by it; and that the damage done to two or three grazing counties ought not to be laid in the balance with the advan-

tages of trade, and the national interests of Britain and Ireland: how little weight or truth there is in that suggestion, will best appear from the ensuing computation. The yearly rent of pasture ground in the southern part of Britain, by those who sink it lowest, is rated at £4,500,000, and of arable land at about £2,500,000. Besides these two principal articles, there is about twelve millions of acres in heath, moor, forest, common, roads, mountains, and barren land, which produce little besides a small and middling breed of sheep; and these rated by a proportion of one sheep to three acres, and twelve fleeces and as many shillings to the tod, will make a trifle amount to £200,000.

But let us rate the value of pasture wool at a third part	
of the rent	£1,500,000
The fallow wool, being betwixt a sixth and a seventh	
part of the rent.....	400,000
Heath, moor, and forest wool	200,000
	<hr/>
	£2,100,000

“ If, then, the general rental of the land of England, as is usually computed, rises to ten millions, it is evident here is more than a fifth part charged upon wool, and defrayable by it. And if English wool, by the importation of Irish, be sunk one-third in price, here is plainly £700,000 yearly going out of the pockets of the grazier, the farmer, the cottager, and labourer; the two former having generally a small tale of sheep faring hardly upon the common, and this not to enrich the nation in general, but a very small number, as we shall see by and bye, of their fellow-subjects.

“ Let us now pause a while, and ask whether these are national interests, and whether the wool and yarn of Ireland are worth purchasing at so dear a rate? But to go on: the persons maintained and employed in the woollen manufacture, when they drew up a general muster of their forces at the bar of the House of Commons, were computed at 700,000. To show them we will not be over strict and niggardly in our calculation, we will throw in the merchants, factors, and sailors concerned with them in the same business at 300,000, advancing thereby the total number of persons to a million.

“ Let us consider now the other side: what numbers we

have to confront this formidable body. The graziers of the county of Lincoln, or such, however, as are any way concerned in the growth of pasture wool, are, by a moderate computation reckoned to be 10,000: supposing these to be a fifteenth part of the whole body, the graziers will amount to 150,000; and rating their families one with another at four heads per family, the number of persons depending upon grazing will be 600,000. The farmers being more numerous, we shall lay at 160,000; and if five heads per family, they will amount to 800,000; the labourers and cottagers cannot be estimated at less than 600,000; nor, at three and one-third head per family, at less than

.....	2,000,000
Total under the head of graziers.....	600,000
Total under the head of farmers	800,000
	<hr/>
	3,400,000

“ This numerous body of people being one way or another concerned in the growth of wool, are immediately and sensibly affected by any considerable abatement in the price of it. Whereas of the million allotted to the woollen manufacture, we will boldly venture to affirm, that not one in forty, nor not more than 25,000, are really gainers by Irish wool; the pay, wages, and profits of the 975,000 poorer manufacturers being the same, whether the cloth and stuffs they weave, dress, and vend, or the wool and yarn they are made of, be English or Irish.

“ Upon the view of so great a disparity of numbers, it would be an affront to common sense to ask, which of these two is the most valuable and important national interest, or whether it can be worth while to pursue measures for enriching 25,000, who stand in no need of it, at the expense and impoverishment of more than three millions, who are truly diligent and necessitous, and employed chiefly in supplying the principal material for the most beneficial trade of Great Britain.

“ We would not willingly be charged with aggravating any speculations of this nature beyond their just consequences, but shall shelter ourselves under the authority of Dr. Davenant, the most accurate and judicious writer upon the land of England and its products, who asserts that the fall either

of one-third in the rents of England, or an abatement of 10 per cent. forced upon us in wools and its manufactures, by the rivalry in trade of another country, viz., Ireland, would throw us into more disorders than the most knowing man in England can readily describe. As the present race of the people of Ireland is in truth no other than the descendants of transported English, their affinity to us in blood, in religion, and government, ought to endear them to us, and oblige us to treat them with friendship and kindness, with indulgence and favour, nay, and even to grant them all the encouragement, all the privileges, in point of traffic, that can be in any reasonable degree consistent with our own welfare. But then, in order to do this wisely and safely, we must not consider Ireland in its distinct and separate interests, but upon a comparative view, as it stands in a state of dependency on Great Britain; for this exceedingly alters the case, not only making their interests subservient to ours, but justifying those very measures, which may appear severe and rigorous to them, as truly wise, and necessary to our own preservation. If Ireland be in truth the most dangerous and formidable rival we have in wool and its manufactures, England, in all good reason and policy, should be allowed to have a right to preserve itself by guarding against encroachments. And upon this account, whatever concessions may have been formerly or lately made in favour of Ireland, ought to be retracted with as little scruple as granted, when found in the event prejudicial to ourselves, because, in all competition of national interests, the greater and more valuable ought always to be preferred."

"EXCIDIIUM ANGLICÆ, or a View of the Fatal Consequences
 "attending the Smuggling of Wool: by a Cheshire
 "Weaver. 1727."

"I have viewed, examined, and searched into the fatal consequences, necessarily, naturally, and unavoidably flowing from a practice I shall soon mention, which will and must bring on certain destruction to my native country, and that much sooner than will be apprehended, for ere the next generation, England will be no more. The certainty of this impending fate, hath filled my mind with a greater horror than any one could feel,

who, from a precipice bristling with cragged pointed rocks, should behold, so remotely beneath him, the foaming tempestuous sea, as in a calm. The detestable practice I have taken the resolution to complain of, is that of smuggling wool from England and Ireland to France and Flanders, and other countries, and that those consequences are attending the practice that threatens the nation with certain impending ruin, I am now going to unravel and demonstrate; but I will previously add, that the smuggling of wool, when England is ruined, will at last beggar the growers and farmers themselves, who owl their own wool, and will break the balance of power, and sap the Protestant interest in Europe."

In order to follow up his argument, the "Cheshire Weaver" enters minutely into the different qualities of wool, which he seemed practically to understand, and in so doing gives a history of wool at that period.

"It is necessary that I should set forth what advantages we have by our wool and woollen manufactures, above every other nation in Europe, and how and why the running of our wool becomes a dangerous and fatal nuisance to us; or else, it will not appear that such practice doth the nation any harm at all, and therefore, all the dismal consequences I apprehend from it must be only imaginary. Woollen manufactures are such commodities as no nation in Europe can be without; for the inhabitants of the warmest climates require clothing, as well as the people of the coldest regions, and no manufactures are so proper for clothing as those made of wool, and no wool in Europe equals ours in goodness, either for combing or clothing. The wool of France and Flanders, Germany, and the United Provinces, is generally pretty much infected with a coarse bright, shining, stichel-hair, which is always rotten, brittle, harsh, and untwisted, lies staring out in all sorts of goods, and never takes so good a dye as the rest of the wool. The wool of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden is fit only for clothing, and abounds with a darkish stichel-hair; that of Muscovy is very coarse and brittle; and that of Poland and Italy is of a middling fineness, but weak. But the wool of England, except that of Cambridgeshire, Cumberland, Durham, Monmouthshire, Norfolk, Northumberland, Suffolk, Westmoreland, and the East-Riding of Yorkshire, (which is plagued with a stichel-

hair) vastly exceeds that of France, and the rest of the countries of Europe, in pureness from the stichel-hair, in strength, softness, and fineness; and the manufactures made thereof are preferable for goodness and beauty to those made beyond sea, all of foreign wool, as much as our woollen goods, made of our best and finest sorts of wool, surpass those manufactured from our coarse sorts. And the wool of the counties of Cork, Kerry, Kilkenny, and Waterford, in Ireland, is not inferior to our wool of Huntingdonshire, Kent, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Rutland, and Warwickshire. And for clothing wool, Herefordshire Tag's Wool, Romney Marsh in Kent, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight, afford us a wool that, for fineness and softness, is but a trifle, if at all inferior to the Spanish wool, but is incomparably more useful and more valuable than that, because of the length of the staple, being from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 inches long; which advantage in the length of wool is the reason that infinitely stronger cloth, with a better nap and gloss, can be made from our wool just mentioned, than can be manufactured from Spanish wool alone, which is but from half an inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which being so very short, cannot be spun into so strong a thread for the chain as our wool; and therefore, both in France and Holland, they size the warp made all of Spanish wool to give it strength, which size hinders the wool from being wove so close as if the chain had been strong enough without it; and being scoured off in fulling, the cloth then shows itself to be not close woven, and consequently cannot be so strong, have so good a nap, and so fine a gloss as our cloth, whose chain is all English wool and not sized.

"Since, then, we have such an inestimable advantage by virtue of our wool, and our manufactures made thereof, above every nation in Europe, it necessarily follows, that our woollen goods must be most valuable, and the most sought after of all others, and consequently that few foreign merchants or markets can or will be supplied with these sorts of commodities but by us. And then these markets will be engrossed by us, which, as it will cause a constant demand for our woollen manufactures, so this demand will provide uninterrupted employment for our manufacturers."

“ THOUGHTS OF THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES OF
 “ ENGLAND, in a Letter from a CLOTHIER to a Member
 “ of Parliament. 1762.”

This pamphlet is so fully noticed by Smith as to render it unnecessary to give extracts ; the statistical information is considerable, but Smith doubts the correctness of the data, and in confirmation of his opinion compares them with Dobb's Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland, (1729.)

“ SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF
 “ IRELAND, particularly with relation to the WOOLLEN
 “ MANUFACTURE, in a Letter to his Excellency the
 “ Duke of Dorset. Dublin, 1731.”

The Duke of Dorset was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but then in England.

“ It is impossible for you to comprehend, at the distance you are at, the miseries of the people. It would be difficult for you to come at a true sense of them, though you were here.”

And after mentioning in forcible language the drain of money by absentees, and the depressed state of their manufactures and trade, the writer states :—

“ We have been long desirous to have two things allowed us : the one a free trade to the Plantations for unenumerated commodities ; the other some considerable encouragement with relation to our wool : the first of these being a thing allowed to all other nations of the world ; the other is now in debate, and must be a business of greater difficulty, because it is an affair which infinitely concerns the people of England. They are very jealous, and very reasonably so, lest any thing should be done that might hurt the ancient and important staple of their country. I hope their jealousy, however, will not now carry them so far as it has formerly done, and lead them to study more how to do mischief to their neighbours, *than good to themselves.*

“ The present declining condition of this branch of their trade is principally owing to this unfortunate jealousy. When Ireland and England together possessed the sole benefits of this manufacture, the gain of both kingdoms was exceedingly great, and England, finding so much advantage from a part

of the trade, was desirous of engrossing the whole: they forgot the fable of the hen and the golden egg, and precipitately passed an act to prohibit the Irish from sharing that trade with them.

"That act laid the foundation of all the misfortunes of both kingdoms. It drove abroad all our woollen manufacturers, who set up in different countries, and taught our neighbours to steal from us a manufacture we entirely engrossed before.

"But experience has taught them that injustice, in the long run, will never thrive. I need not mention the right that all nations have to make use of the advantages nature has bestowed upon them; I shall only observe that it was extremely severe to hinder them, not only from exporting their manufactures, but also from sending abroad their wool. They suffered them to export it nowhere except to England, where they set a duty on it, which amounted almost to a prohibition. It was certainly a notion of those times that the Irish were a different species of animals from other men, and that their stomachs were formed to digest their wool.

"They have found, however, at last, that there is no possibility of hindering us from running our wool, but by making it our interest to keep it at home, or to export it only to England. They are now endeavouring to do the best, by taking off the duty from our yarn, which will have some effect, by raising the price of it to the French, and lowering it to the English. If we are rightly informed, they have already thought of a scheme for us. They propose a registry for both kingdoms. The English have not only been so kind as to put us in the way to prevent our clandestine trade, but they have likewise pointed out to us the method to raise the money necessary to complete their scheme. There is a duty upon wool in Ireland, called the license duty, which produces £4,000 per annum, and has been from time immemorial appropriated to the Lord Lieutenant. This duty they propose we shall transmute into a kind of excise upon wool, which every grower must pay upon the shearing of his sheep.

"From all these considerations, I think it evident that a registry will be impracticable, as well as ineffectual, and I believe there is but one method in nature which, in the end,

would not be found the same; this is to allow us to manufacture our own wool. I do not desire that we should exercise the woollen trade in the same free manner that the English do; but were that allowed us, I am convinced it would be for the benefit of England.

“ But, because some people are dubious whether our wool is absolutely necessary to the foreign manufactures or not, I shall beg leave to enter a little into that affair. Let us state the case which way we please, it still appears the interest of England to take any method to keep it from them, and they have no reason to fear being rivalled by us, if that could be effected, because there would be wool enough for both: but if they can do without our wool, the pains we take to keep it at home are to very little purpose. All we could do in that case would be to strive to undersell our neighbours, which we could never attain to without employing the people of Ireland. As to England, it is so loaded with taxes that no manufacture can hereafter flourish there.”

The tone in which the above pamphlet was written, not only evinces the dissatisfaction which prevailed generally in Ireland, but the effect which the restrictions on the woollen manufacture in Ireland had upon them. It appears to have gone through several editions, and must have excited great interest; the motto to the first edition was the well-known quotation from Virgil,—

“ Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.”

In the edition printed at Dublin, the application of that motto is rendered—

“ I dread an Englishman, even when he does me a kindness.”

About the same period, viz. 1730, a pamphlet was printed in Dublin :—

“ REMARKS ON THE ENGLISH WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE
“ FOR EXPORTATION, and the necessity of preventing
“ the Irish Wool being run, as presented at the door
“ of both Houses of the British Parliament.”

The pamphlet comprises the various arguments used in England for preventing the smuggling of Irish wool to the Continent.

" 'Tis impossible the English woollen trade for exportation can revive, but must even still decline, notwithstanding the great blessings of peace, if Irish wool is not prevented being run.

" It cannot be for England's interest to prevent her own wool being run, and not the Irish also; and notwithstanding no Irish wool is now imported, yet the price of English wool is still low.

" As ten pounds' worth of wool does by manufacturing give England a profit of £50, England's present loss by the Irish wool being run, and being prevented thereby manufacturing it, is still greater, as every pack run does enable the foreigner to work up with it two or more of their own wool, by which the *English farmer* is robbed of selling two packs, and this kingdom of manufacturing and exporting, when in goods, three packs, which is evidently the sole cause of the present decay of our trade, and low price of our wool.

" All Irish wool exported into England does pay a duty in Ireland of upwards of one penny per lb., which is 20 per cent., as their wool has been generally sold at 7s. per stone; and also there is a duty on all Irish woollen yarns imported, of one penny per lb. paid in *England*, besides what it pays as wool in *Ireland*. Taking off the duty on the said wool and yarn, and turning the Irish low labour in England's favour, would not only make them that are now employed for England, rivals, but see it their interest that such a law be executed: but even the whole kingdom (the clandestine trade excepted) assist therein, and consult the interest of England as to the woollen manufactory for exportation, which would at once enable England, not only to continue a living price to the poor, but also fully employ them, and enable them to cope with the whole world in woollen goods."

The pamphlet closes with several questions as to the policy of encouraging the woollen trade in Ireland, grounded on the above-mentioned arguments.

**“ A SCHEME TO PREVENT THE RUNNING OF IRISH WOOLS
“ TO FRANCE, AND IRISH WOOLLEN GOODS TO FOR-
“ EIGN COUNTRIES, by prohibiting the Importation of
“ Spanish Wool into Ireland, and permitting the People
“ of Ireland to send their Woollen Goods to England,
“ not for Consumption, but for Exportation. Dublin,
“ 1745.”**

“ Experience and long observation have shown us, that no laws hitherto made, however severe, have been sufficient to prevent the people of Ireland from running their raw wools to France, and their manufactured goods to foreign countries; that nothing can effectually put a stop to this great evil, but making it the interest of Ireland to discourage the practice.

“ For since the Irish wools that yearly remain more than they manufacture must somewhere find a market, and since the French can afford to give more for their wools than we can, the landed gentlemen of Ireland will ever continue to countenance this pernicious trade, as the only one, perhaps, by which their tenants are enabled to hold their lands, and pay their rents.

“ In order to show that the running of Irish wool to France, and their manufactured goods to other countries, is inconsistent with the real interests of Ireland, and to make it the interest of Ireland to prevent it, I shall consider what the state of the woollen manufacture of Ireland was thirty years ago, and what it is at present. In the next place I will show reasons why they have so much wool to sell to our rivals, the French, and propose a scheme to prevent it; and this in such a manner as will be equally advantageous to England and Ireland, without hurting our manufacturers, prejudicing our owners of pasture grounds, and lessening the labour of our poor.

“ Thirty years ago, they manufactured in Ireland large quantities of ratteens, frizes, and coarse cloth of 8s., 9s., and 10s. per yard, the latter being the price of the best cloths their own wools could make, and were generally sold for. The lower and middle class of their people appeared at that time well dressed in ratteens and frizes; and the better, or richer class, wore cloths of 10s. per yard; and their nobility and gentry wore superfine cloths then made in England.





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[REDACTED]





“The importation of Spanish wool into Ireland made an alteration in their manufactures; their clothiers attempted first to make quarter Spanish cloths, afterward half Spanish cloths, and soon learned from us the manner and method of making whole Spanish cloths.”

“As riches begat ease and luxury, so the country of Ireland was improved, their people grew more prosperous, more pompous in dress, and more expensive in equipage. The lower class, who were formerly well dressed in ratteens and frizes, despise that clothing now, and purchase cloths mixed with Spanish wool; and the middle class, together with their nobility and gentry, wear no cloths but such as are manufactured of Spanish wools; by which the Irish clothiers are for the most part become manufacturers of Spanish wool, and they make few cloths but such as are for the liveries of servants, there being no demand for cloths of 8s., 9s., and 10s. per yard, into which their own wools were formerly largely manufactured.

“As, by the discouraging the manufactures of such cloths, great quantities of Irish wools do yearly remain in that kingdom, the scheme I propose shall be to engage the people of Ireland to manufacture more of their own wools, send less of them to France, and more of their spinning to England; and this I shall endeavour to enforce, by proving it not only consistent with their own interest, but the surest way to extend and advance it.

“Since it evidently appears that the importation of Spanish wools into Ireland has been the cause of their clothiers manufacturing less of their own wools, and consequently having the more to sell to France, I would propose an immediate prohibition of Spanish wool into Ireland. When that is done, then manufacturers will return to their former method and manner of making such cloths as the wools of that kingdom will produce; and the spirit of encouraging the manufactures made in Ireland, which so visibly appears in their Dublin society, will engage them to give premiums to those who make the best cloths of Irish wools, and not the best piece of cloth manufactured of Spanish.

“I would further propose that the people of Ireland be permitted to export their own woollen manufactured goods. But as

there are many good reasons why they should not send their woollen goods directly from Ireland to our Plantations abroad or to other foreign countries which we trade to, I would propose limiting the exportation of their woollen goods to Great Britain alone, not to be sold for consumption in England, but for exportation from England to such foreign countries as the proprietors or buyers shall think proper.

“ The Spanish wools imported into Ireland from the 25th March, 1743, to the 25th March, 1744, were 128,086 pounds which I compute to be about 570 bags.

“ I shall suppose each bag of wool to make four pieces of Spanish cloths: then the cloths manufactured were 228 pieces, which, upon an average, being worth £20 each cloth the produce of the year's importation of Spanish wool will amount to £45,600.

“ It is computed, that in the woollen manufacture, four fifths of the value of the goods, when finished for sale, are given to the labours of the people; therefore I will suppose that there are paid into the hands of the people £45,600

and to Spain for the wool £9,120

“ To make one piece of Spanish cloth for sale completely finished, will take up three months; it is seldom finished in less time: the manufacture is so tedious, that some of the people employed are often obliged to wait for weeks, while others are finishing their parts, as may be supposed from the following table, which I received from an eminent clothier, on whose veracity I can depend.

To make one piece of Spanish cloth will employ—

	MEN.		WOMEN.		BOYS.		DAYS.
Dyeing	1	...	—	...	—	...	1
Beating and picking ...	—	...	2	...	—	...	4
Scribbling	2	...	—	...	—	...	5
Spinning the chain ...	—	...	8	...	—	...	7
Do. the wool.....	—	...	8	...	—	...	7
Winding the chain.....	—	...	3	...	—	...	1
Warping, winding, and weaving	2	..	—	..	1	...	24
Spinning the list.....	—	...	2	...	—	...	2
Burling	—	...	2	..	—	...	4
Milling	1	...	—	...	—	...	1
Dressing	4	...	—	..	—	...	5

“ By this table it appears in how many days less than three months, the poor employed in this manufacture finish their several parts. Therefore it is highly probable that several of them are often idle for want of work, unless the master clothier be a man of large capital, and is able to carry on his manufacture so as to find them employment all the year. This I cannot suppose to be the case of the clothiers of Ireland, whose funds I am informed are small, and their ambition to make Spanish cloths so great, that they give their spinners and weavers, who are employed on Spanish wools, one-third more wages than they give to those employed in the Irish.

“ Now the same people that are employed, in this table, in manufacturing one cloth made of Spanish wool, are absolutely requisite in manufacturing a cloth made of Irish; and they can finish such a cloth in two months as completely as they can a cloth made of Spanish in three; therefore, if fully employed, can work up half as many more yards of cloth in one year, as an equal number can do who are employed in making of Spanish. Besides, as coarse wools may be worked up into goods of various kinds, and the wool so disposed of as to give employment to at least, at any time, to a greater number of hands than the like value of Spanish wools would employ, all manufactures of coarse wool can be finished with greater dispatch.

“ Therefore, since the wealth of a nation is increased by the number of poor it employs, and the quantity of the product of the lands they consume, I shall consider what number of the poor of Ireland £9,120 value will employ, and what number of poor the wools of Ireland, valued at 12s. per stone, containing 16lb., equal to 9d. per lb., will employ and subsist.

“ I have made the best inquiry I was capable of, and find that the wools of Ireland, yearly produced, are computed at 480,000 stones, equal to 7,680,000 lbs.* Some say they are less, but no account that I have received from any part of the kingdom think more.

“ I shall therefore consider the wools of that kingdom under the highest estimation that I have received, and show what that quantity of wool would produce, if worked up for their own consumption, or for exportation to England, and what loss that kingdom sustains yearly by neglecting the manu-

* This is very much less than the quantity grown now in Ireland.

facturing her own wools, encouraging the manufacture of Spanish, and running their raw wools to France.

“ I shall likewise show the gain that would arise to that kingdom, if their own wools were fully manufactured by their own people.

“ I shall suppose the medium price of the wools of Ireland to be 12s. per stone, (9d. per lb). Then 480,000 stones, at 12s. per stone, will make £288,000. If £10 value in wools, when completely manufactured for sale, is worth £50, the value of the yearly wools of Ireland, when worked up, must be £1,440,000. If four-fifths of this sum be paid to the working people for labour, and the remaining fifth be paid to the rents of the kingdom for the produce of the sheep, the earned money of the poor of that country, in working up the yearly produce, will amount to £1,152,000

And they will work up as much of the produce
of the kingdom as amounts to..... £288,000

Consequently Ireland will gain yearly by manu-
facturing her own wool £1,152,000

And by manufacturing the whole year's impor-
tation she can only make..... £36,486

To earn which sum she must yearly pay Spain £9,120

and have numbers of the poor idly supported by high wages, to make amends for the many days the manufacturers of Spanish wool leave them unemployed.

“ It is very difficult to compute the exact number of poor that the wools of a country, if worked up among themselves, would employ and subsist ; but as most working people earn no more than what is sufficient to maintain them comfortably, I am of opinion that the finding out the quantity and value of any kind of goods manufactured in a country, and the value of the common annual subsistence as a manufacturer, is the best way of judging of the number of working people subsisted by that manufacture.

“ I shall therefore suppose that the common annual subsistence of working men, women, and children in Ireland, may be purchased at a medium of £10 per annum ; and that 480,000 stones of the wool of Ireland, when fully manufactured, are worth £1,440,000 ; then the number of poor subsisted by the manufacturing of the yearly produce of the wools of Ireland, will be 144,000 people.

" I shall next consider how many of the poor of Ireland are subsisted by the manufacturing of Spanish wools, admitting that they are not, during the whole year, one day unemployed, and that they manufacture the whole importation of Spanish wool of 1743, which was much larger than any quantity they ever imported in one year into that kingdom. I computed that 570 bags of Spanish wool, when fully manufactured for sale, would amount to £45,600; therefore, by that computation, the poor employed and subsisted by that manufacture, can be no more than 4,560 people. It is therefore obvious, that Ireland loses immensely every year, by encouraging the manufacture of Spanish cloths, discouraging the manufacturing of her own wools, and sending, or selling her valuable unmanufactured wool to France.

" If the union proposed between England and Ireland, with respect to the liberty of exporting into England such woollen goods as Ireland shall manufacture, should be agreeable to both kingdoms, I am convinced that no gentleman in Ireland will consent to the running of raw wools to France: if he is able to procure but a nursery of spinners upon his estate, the produce of their labour will keep up the price of the products of his land, which will be much more advantageous to him, than what he can possibly gain by permitting the wools that grow on his land to be sold in France.

" If this union should not be agreeable to both kingdoms, and that the people of Ireland will be obliged to wear, as they now are, what woollen goods they manufacture, I am of opinion I have fully shown, that it is not the interest of that kingdom to wear Spanish cloths, if manufactured in Ireland, which must bring such numbers of their poor to the parish for subsistence, or oblige them to quit the country for want of employment, who might be subsisted by their labour on Irish wool, without any charge to the landed interest.

" Ireland does not at present produce two-thirds of the wool, which was supposed to be the growth of the country at the peace of Utrecht, or even thirty years before. This decrease of their sheep has been owing, not only to the very great danger and difficulty the people of Ireland found in sending their wools to France, under the severe laws made by England to prevent it, but to several acts of Parliament which

have been made in that kingdom since 1714. By the act to encourage tillage, every farmer in Ireland is obliged to plough a certain number of acres in every hundred which he holds by lease : this obligation, together with the great difficulty and risk in sending their wools to France, obliged many people to plough up their pasture grounds, which lessened their sheep throughout the kingdom, for they found a certain market for their corn, instead of an uncertain one for their wool.

“ The people of Ireland are computed at 1,660,000. I shall suppose the half of these people to be men and boys, and the other half women and girls ; and that every man and every boy in Ireland wears, or is the occasion of consuming, the value twenty shillings of woollen goods yearly ; and that every woman and every girl wears, or is the occasion of consuming, five shillings in woollen goods yearly. Then 833,000 men and boys, at 20s. per annum, will consume in

Irish woollen goods	£833,000
And 833,000 women and girls, at 5s	208,250
Therefore the amount of woollens in Ireland	—————
will be	1,041,250

As the richest people in Ireland are buried in woollens, according to act of Parliament, I shall allow for burials in woollens 20,000

Then, if all the wools Ireland yearly produces were fully manufactured, and that England took from them neither raw wool, worsted, or woollen yarn, the value of the surplus wool, fully manufactured, would be..... 378,750

Total..... £1,440,000

“ I find we have imported from Ireland, from March 25th, 1743, to March 25th, 1744,—

In raw wool, great stones,... ..	19,993
In worsted yarn, ditto,	68,622
In woollen yarn, ditto,	15,224

Stones..... 103,839

“ If we take yearly the same quantity of unmanufactured wools, worsted, and woollen yarn that we have done last year, which I shall compute only at 100,000 great stones, we shall prevent their fully manufacturing as much of the wools of

Ireland as I have computed, which, when fully manufactured by themselves, would amount to £300,000; therefore, admitting there is no objection to the value in woollen goods, which I have computed to be the yearly consumption of the people of Ireland, not only in apparel, but in bedding, house furniture, and burials, all the woollen goods Ireland can fully manufacture for exportation will amount to no more than £78,750.

"In order to remove the apprehension that may arise to our clothiers and manufacturers, that this value in Irish woollen goods, if exported to England for re-exportation to foreign countries may hurt the sale of our own manufactures abroad, I shall consider what value, in woollen goods, France will be prevented from vending at foreign markets, which she now supplies by procuring the surplus wools of Ireland, that may be manufactured into that sum.

"I shall suppose that France has been able to procure yearly no more Irish wools than, when fully manufactured, I have computed would produce this £78,750, which I calculate at 1750 packs of 240 lbs. each. I shall likewise suppose, that what France purchases are the best Irish wools, for which she pays 16s. the great stone, and that all risks, hazards, insurances and freights being accounted for, those wools when landed in France cost the manufacturer 20s. per stone.

"By the best information I could get in France, I have learnt that those people manufacture two packs of their own wool by the help of one pack of Irish. I shall therefore suppose their own wools worth 5s. the great stone; and when mixed with Irish wools at 20s. per stone, that the manufacturer in France has three packs of wool at 10s. per stone medium price. I have computed that the surplus wools of Ireland, which France now procures, are 1750 packs, which make in great stones of 16lbs to the stone 26,250

"To which I will double that quantity of French wools which the manufacturers of France work up with the help of this quantity of Irish.....	52,500
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Total stones	78,750
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"Therefore, the French manufacturers, by the help of 26,250 stones of Irish wool, have 78,750 stones of wool proper for such manufacture as we carry on,

which wools on an average will cost them 2s. per stone ;—then 78,750 stones, at 10s. per stone, cost the manufacturer in France	£39,375
And when fully manufactured for sale, allowing for labour, as I have done, on the like value of wools manufactured in England, the amount will be.....	£196,875

“ If France can send to foreign markets such considerable quantities of woollen goods by procuring 1750 packs of Irish wools, of what consequence ought these wools to be to England? Since we know that such a quantity, and a much greater, may be sent yearly out of England, we should endeavour to prevent running it from England as well as Ireland, which I am far from thinking an impossible scheme.”

Large extracts have been made from the last quoted pamphlet, because it contains certain statistical information respecting the produce of Irish wools and the Irish woollen manufacture in the early part of the last century ; and as we proceed in tracing the improvements and increase of the woollen manufacture, this will afford data to which reference can be made and comparison taken. It would appear, however, that the author has drawn his argument and conclusion more from computed than from actual returns ; and though a general idea may be formed of the woollen manufacture of that day, it can by no means give a correct account.

“ A REPRESENTATION OF THE STATE OF TRADE OF IRELAND, laid before the House of Lords of England, on Tuesday, the 10th of April, 1750, on occasion of a Bill before the House for laying a Duty on Irish Sail Cloth imported into Great Britain.”

This pamphlet is chiefly, as the title indicates, confined to observations on the linen manufacture of Ireland. It commences by dividing the subject into three heads, viz.,

“ 1. The bill is wholly supported by the assertion of false facts, and fallacious reasoning upon those facts.

“ 2. Founded on the most erroneous principles of trade.

“ 3. Fundamentally wrong in point of policy.”

The woollen trade of Ireland is mentioned under the second head only, and gives interesting facts and particulars of the Irish trade and laws.

“ The principle upon which this bill must stand, can be this only : That Ireland is to be prohibited the importation of all manufactures that interfere with the manufactures of Great Britain ; for if this principle is not absolutely general, it would never operate in this almost insignificant importation, which has never amounted to above £8,000 a year, and at present does not amount to above 60,000 yards, or somewhat about £4,000.

“ The principle is the vulgar, passionate, old-fashioned principle, taken up for the first time no longer ago than the Restoration, (before which time the trade of Ireland and England was and had continued unrestrained from the reign of Henry II., who first invaded Ireland,) and grounded upon the prejudice of the Court and Parliament to the other establishment of Ireland, the lands of which, by Cromwell's grants and the Act of Settlement, were then wholly in the hands of Cromwell's officers and soldiers, who were ready and disposed to renew the civil wars if an opportunity had offered. But it is a principle that appeared to have been exploded of late years, till it has been revived by this bill. And that it is an erroneous and absurd principle, is of infinite consequence, not only to this point, but for all future consideration of Parliament upon the trade of England and Ireland to be proved so to be. And it may demonstrably be proved so to be by considering,—

“ 1. The consequences that followed the former pursuit of this principle.

“ 2. By the consequences that must follow the future pursuit of this principle,—

“ As to the consequences that have followed from the former pursuit of this principle.

“ 1. By the act of navigation, which, though a very favourite act, is in some respects a very absurd one, Ireland was debarred from trading directly to the Plantations for many of their commodities.

“ And what followed from this ?

“ The Irish, not being able to import lumber, timber, &c. from the West Indies, but round about the way of London or other English ports, created a delay and an expense which rendered their goods too dear for that kingdom to be fur-

nished with from our own colonies, in this course of trade. They therefore bought all their timber from the Baltic, and other parts, at the expense of £50,000 per annum, till the year 1630, when an alteration was made as to that article, which amounted in about sixty years to near three millions sterling, all which would have been saved otherwise to the British dominions, and had long since centered in Great Britain. Sugar likewise, and many products of America and the West Indies, are taken by Ireland from France and Spain to a great value; and from the same reason, foreign linens are imported into America, which might be otherwise furnished by our own countrymen.

“ 2. By the act of 1663, for restraining the importation of Irish cattle, and its produce into England, Ireland was reduced for ten or twelve years to a distress never heard of in any country before. Horses, before sold at 30s., were then sold at 1s.; oxen, sold for 50s., then sold for 10s.

“ But after some years they found the way of salting, barrelling, and exporting their beef, so that in lieu of exporting 70,000 head of live cattle to England at 40s. per head, which cost England but £140,000, and which they manufactured afterwards and exported, and had all the hides and tallow into the bargain, Ireland now manufactures and exports that beef to the value of £200,000 per annum: of butter, near £200,000 more, (which by a strange policy may be imported into England from Holland, though not from Ireland,) and about 3000 raw hides to England, and 70,000 raw hides to France and Spain, where they are tanned to the vast advantage of our enemies, and manifest loss to England and Ireland; and of tallow about £70,000, of which, for the same reason of its high duties, England takes but about £20,000, by which the price of soap and candles has been raised in England, to the infinite detriment of the English manufactures, and is rendered very low and easy to the foreign rivals of Great Britain.

“ 3. In the reign of King William the woollen manufacture was attempted to be destroyed in Ireland, though the manufacture then exported thence amounted not to £30,000 per annum, and the wool and yarn imported thence to England, and worked up, were then of immense value. This answered

the expectation of the English manufacturer for two or three years; but the English persecution in trade had the same effect as French persecution in religion; for soon after the Irish weavers settled in France, and laid the foundation of the woollen manufacture almost in all parts of Europe, which must now rival England, and will rival her much more than Ireland could have done, not only drawing after them the Irish wool and yarn, but enabling them to work up their own wool at the same time; by which impolitic measure, instead of allowing Ireland to manufacture her own wool, England established the manufacture of that wool in foreign countries, with a further manufacture of twice or thrice as much more besides, and now they can undersell not only England, but the Irish too. These are some of the many evil consequences which have attended this narrow principle.

“Let us now consider what consequences must follow the future pursuit of the same principle.

“1. In respect to the general commerce of the British empire, is there not even a benefit in being in some degree rivalled in trade, if only by the subjects of our own government? Is not such a rivalry necessary to keep the English manufactures at a moderate price and to a good standard?

“Is it not even, upon a deep consideration, the interest of a trading nation to employ those manufacturers who work the cheapest? And is it not in this that the great secret of all commerce consists?

“Would it, or does it hurt the British empire that Ireland should (if it were true that she could or did) work cheaper than Yorkshire or Lancashire, more than it hurts her that Yorkshire or Lancashire should work cheaper than Devonshire or Cornwall? Can any man of open understanding consider Ireland but in the light of four or five great counties added to England advantageously for water carriage, cut by a large navigable river?

“This thing of trade is very little understood; there is a distinction not thought of that may explain the whole. The interest of the manufacturers, nay, the interest of the landed men, are in some sense to be separated from the interest of the nation, in the consideration of the great interest of the British Empire.

“ The British Empire is one merchant. This merchant employs four sets of manufacturers, and the products of four farms :—The manufacturers and farms of England ; the manufacturers and farms of Scotland ; the manufacturers and farms of Ireland ; the manufacturers and farms of America. And it must not be forgotten that there are other governments, each of which, in the same sense, is a great merchant too. Now it is very evident (and it is that which causes the delusion) that in the first view of the manufacturers of England, and the farmers and owners of the farms of England, would seem to do well for themselves, if they were to prevail upon the great British merchant to employ them *only* in the manufacture of goods, and to use the products of their farms *only*; for then, as there would be fewer to manufacture, and as the product would be less, then the manufacturers and the owners of farms would for a time oblige that great merchant to pay them more wages for their labour, and greater prices for their produce. But what must follow after a little time ? This great merchant must become a little one, for he must contract his dealings, not employ so many hands, nor work so much produce. He might sell the less quantity for awhile to a higher profit on what he sold, but he would be still a great loser though he did, because a less profit upon a much greater quantity would, upon the total, be a far greater gain.

“ But he would not even sell that less quantity at a higher price for any continuance of time.

“ Another government, a great merchant too, acting upon more enlarged principles, would work cheaper, and would work more, nay, would by degrees employ the manufacturers and farms of Scotland, the manufacturers and farms of Ireland, the manufacturers and farms of America, besides its own manufacturers, and products of its own farms ; for both out of spite and necessity they would and must work for, and supply the other great merchant, which, in the nature of things, can never be prevented in the long run.

“ Thus the vain attempts of penal restrictions and penal laws, have long since sufficiently proved abortive, and therefore, upon the whole, the principles of confining or restricting trade in regard to any member of the British empire, is an absurd principle, and the reverse of it (possibly) cannot be carried too

far for the interest of the British empire; and the commerce of the British empire absolutely requires and demands no restraint throughout the whole; and even the real and lasting interest of the English manufacturer, and the English landed gentleman, requires and demands the extension of the common liberty of commerce to all the dominions of Great Britain; because, though their immediate profit or gain confounds their judgment: in truth, and in the end, their welfare, the extension and duration of their trade, depends upon the full and free employment of the whole.

“ The climate of Ireland, the situation of Ireland, the manufactures of Ireland, are the same as those of England.

“ If England, therefore, prohibits any of the commodities of Ireland, being such as serve for the foundation of manufactures, it is furnishing the materials of trade to foreign nations, and our most dangerous rivals, for they will get them if England does not take them; or, if not commodities that are the premiums of manufactures, they will hurt England more by being imported to other nations than to England, because, if England re-exported those commodities, or, by consuming them, exported more of her own, or exported both, the tonnage and advanced profit would redound to England; and England, being possessed of the whole profit of both nations, could fix her own price upon the whole: the same advantage would accrue to England upon the re-exportation of Irish manufactures from England.

“ And if England prohibits the importation of any one manufacture of Ireland into England, which is Ireland's chief market, the Irish must do one of two things,—

“ 1. They must either take up some other manufacture, which would still interfere with another manufacture of England, and so recoil, time after time, upon England, with the same force, and produce the same evil, if it be an evil.

“ 2. Or they must, if hunted from one manufacture to another, till they are left quiet in none, fly the country, and settle in the provinces of France or Spain, &c., to which countries the encouragement given concurring with the sameness of their religion, too naturally leads them, and this will produce the same effect, as in the instance of the woollen manufacture before mentioned.

“ 3. Or at the best, they will transplant themselves and their manufactures to America, where there is more liberty, more property to be easily acquired, and where it is presumed their manufacture, or rivalship, will not be contented to be less dangerous, but for very many reasons are to be apprehended a great deal more.

“ But the pursuit of measures upon this principle has had an effect compounded of all these circumstances, and will have it much more, if farther continued.

“ Is it not a fatal discouragement of all arts and industry in that kingdom, that the moment they turn themselves to any one manufacture, and have brought it to some perfection, the English manufacturers, by their clamour, and the local interest of particular boroughs and counties, are able to drive them from it, though expressly countenanced by it, and invited to it at the beginning by the English?

“ Is it not absurd to forget, that if you destroy Ireland as a rival in the English trade, you cannot destroy France and other countries, which will work as cheap as Ireland, and will force their commerce by much greater helps, and support it by a power you often dare not resist?

“ Is there even common sense in restraining Ireland, in particular as to these manufactures, which neither England nor Ireland together can jointly supply?

“ This proceeding, in respect to the trade of Ireland, manifestly tends to keep the common Irish still idle, still dangerous, and still popishly inclined (for the laws against popery can lay no hold on beggars) and to continue them estranged to the English government. What reason can be given to encourage trade and manufactures in Scotland, with a view to enrich and civilize the people there, which does not hold at least with equal force in regard to Ireland? Certainly the importance of finding employment for them is still greater, because their poverty is equal, and their number infinitely more. Of two millions of souls in Ireland, one million five hundred thousand are papists, and live on potatoes and milk; the whole food of one family of that class of the people, is the milk of one cow, and the roots produced from half an acre of land; their labour (if they can find employment) but fourpence per day. It is reviving old prejudices

between England and Ireland, which have slept for a long time, and ought to sleep for ever. It is cruel that a people, who, by the balance of their trade, which all centres in England,—by the rents of one-third of their kingdom, which are spent in England,—should be abandoned by the English, with whom they have every tie in common blood, language, laws, and interest.”

CHAPTER III.

FROM 1752 TO 1757.

Petitions to Parliament on branding Sheep with Pitch and Tar, and on false and deceitful winding of Fleeces—The names of Towns and Districts from which Petitions were sent, showing where the Woollen Manufacture was carried on in England—Witnesses examined—Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons—A Review of the Manufacturers' Complaints against the Wool Growers, in Two Pamphlets, by Smith, Compiler of the *Memoirs of Wool*—*Mémoires sur les Laines*—The Fleece, by J. Dyer—Breeds of Sheep suited to various Soils and Climates—On the Process of Sorting Wool—Wools adapted to different Purposes—On exportation of British Wools—Smuggling of Wool—Process of the Woollen Manufacture—Improvement in Spinning—Spinning Machines—Weaving—Fulling—Factories first erected for the Employment of Parochial Poor—Paul's Spinning Machine—The Manufacturing Towns and Villages in Yorkshire—Foreign Trade in Woollens.

HAVING now given the purport of various pamphlets published before and about the period when Smith's *Memoirs of Wool* was written, as regarded Ireland, and taken thereby a review of those measures which tended to restrict and shackle the manufactures of that country, and to continue that feeling of distress and consequent dissatisfaction, till more liberal and just measures were pursued, I shall now revert to the measures adopted in England with respect to the woollen manufacture.

In the year 1752, petitions were presented to the House of Commons from the manufacturing districts, praying for the interference of the Legislature, in order to prevent the custom which then prevailed of branding sheep with pitch and tar; also to prevent false and deceitful winding of the fleece, and complaining of the dearness of wool.

The purport will be best explained by a copy of the petition which was sent from Leeds, stating,—

“ That the woollen manufacture is the most extensive and

interesting branch of commerce, and the most certain source of riches to these kingdoms, as it contributes more than any other to the employment and comfortable support of the poor, to the increase of the people, and to the advance of the value of land, by the ready consumption of its produce; and that the wool of the natural growth of our country occasions, through the great demand for our goods abroad, a balance in our favour, more than all the other branches of our trade, are truths so incontestable, that the merchants and the manufacturers of woollen goods, assuring themselves that whatever is offered to Parliament conducive to the improvement of their manufactures, will meet with a candid and cordial reception, and that it is but needful to represent their grievances, in order to secure their effectual redress, are induced to lay before the Honourable the House of Commons an account of the present practices of the wool growers, in the marking of their sheep, and the winding of their wool, of the pernicious consequences attending such practices, and of the methods proposed for the remedying of them.

“In order to distinguish each grower’s sheep feeding on common grounds, it has been the ancient custom to put a mark of pitch, tar, and other ingredients, capable of enduring the severities of the weather upon some conspicuous part of the sheep: but of late years they have in many places loaded the fleece, as well on the sheep feeding on commons as in inclosed grounds, with such excessive quantities of marking stuff, in order to increase its weight, that the manufacture has been rendered universally difficult, and too frequently unprofitable. That in order to make it workable, the manufacturer is obliged to clip off, with the mark, so much wool as occasions a very great waste of that valuable commodity, whereby the employment of the poor, and the quantity of goods for exportation are much lessened; and, notwithstanding the greatest attention of the most careful manufacturers, the marking stuff is wrought up into goods of all sorts, which, when finished, (those especially of light colours) are so spotted and stained thereby, that their value and credit are greatly impaired, both at home and abroad, and in woollen cloths it is impracticable to discover many of those spots before the piece comes from the press fitted for sale.

“ The fraudulent winding of wool is a crime of ancient date and in the reign of King Henry VIII. (when the importance of their manufactures to their native country could not but be so highly esteemed by her inhabitants as in the latter days,) induced the legislature to pass a law (23 Henry VIII. c. 17) enacting, ‘ that no person should wind within any fleece, clay, lead, stones, tail, deceitful locks, cotts, calcomber, lambs’ wool, or any other thing whereby the fleece might be more weighty, to the deceit and loss of the buyer upon pain of the seller of any such deceitful wool to forfeit for every such fleece sixpence.’

“ Notwithstanding this salutary law, that crime has been growing upon us, and now, in almost every part of the kingdom, the wool growers, in order to increase the weight and enhance the price of the wool, permit to be wound up in the fleeces, wool of inferior qualities, as tail wool, shank-locks, clag-locks, unwashed wool, skin-wool, lambs’ wool, cotten wool, and also clay, stones, dung, sand, and other filth, to the inconceivable loss and deceit of the manufacturers, several of whom have found in many parcels of wool a total loss of one-fifteenth of the weight they bought and paid for, occasioned wholly by the large brands or marks thereon, and the deceitful winding complained of; and in truth they now find very few parcels of wool fairly wound, and free from brand.

“ The method proposed for the suppression of this iniquitous practice is, that a law be passed enacting,—

“ 1. That all growers of wool in Great Britain shall clip off, or cause to be clipped off, from every fleece, before they shear their sheep, or wind their wool, the brands or marks thereon made with pitch, tar, or other marking stuff, together with all dung and dirt which hangs to the skirt of the fleece, or upon the staple of the wool, and adds to the weight, or is injurious to the quality thereof on pain of forfeiting to the buyer five shillings per tod of 28lbs. on every parcel of wool wherein any fleece so wound up with any such mark or brand, dung, or other dirt thereon shall be found to be recovered before one of His Majesty’s justices of the peace in the neighbourhood, in a summary way, or by an action of debt in one of the Courts at Westminster, at the option of the party aggrieved.

“ 2. That no grower of wool shall wind, or put in, or suffer to be wound, or put within any fleece of wool, any clay, lead, dung

stones, sand, tail, or shank-locks, clag-wool, or deceitful locks, skin-wool, mort-wool, or part of any other fleece of wool, more than grows upon, or is clipped off, from one of the same sheep at the same time; nor shall wind or permit to be wound any tail-wool or shank-wool, nor any other filth or deceit whatsoever, whereby the fleece may be made more weighty, to the prejudice of the buyer; nor shall wind up, or expose to sale, any fleece wool not sufficiently rivered or washed, under the penalty of five shillings per tod upon the whole parcel.

"3. That if any person, whether jobber, woolstapler, or other (except wool growers) shall sell, or expose to sale, any wool with such brand or mark thereon, or wound in the deceitful manner before complained of, he shall be subject to a penalty of ten shillings for every tod of such deceitful wool by him sold or exposed to sale, and so, proportionally, for a greater or less quantity.

"4. That within the county of Lincoln, and all other counties and places, where licensed wool-winders have been heretofore employed, the same shall be still continued, on condition every such winder shall take a license at the Quarter Sessions where he resides, next after Lady-day yearly, and be sworn to wind according to this act, (his name, place of abode, and such license to be recorded by the clerk of the peace, for which oath and record he is to pay three shillings, and no more,) in order, that if guilty of unfair winding, he may have the punishment due to wilful and corrupt perjury."

That petition, as well as others, was referred to a Select Committee of the House of Commons; and as those petitions record the description of wool, and consequently of woollen manufacture, in which each place or district was at this period most interested, it may be useful to insert the preamble of the Report, so as to give a clear view thereof:

"REPORT from the COMMITTEE upon the PETITIONS relating to the false WINDING of WOOL, and the MARKING of SHEEP with PITCH and TAR.

"The Committee, to whom the petition of several persons whose names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and other merchants, woolstaplers, clothiers, makers, and manufacturers of worsted yarn, broad cloth, ramblets, callimancoes, stuffs, and other woollen goods, in the town and parish of Leeds, in the West-Riding of the county of York; and also,

the petition of the merchants, woolstaplers, and other manufacturers and dealers in woollen goods, in the town and parish of *Halifax*, in the West-Riding of the county of York; and also, the petition of the woolcombers, worsted weavers, woolstaplers, clothiers, and other manufacturers of wool in the city of *Norwich*, in the county of the same city; and also, the petition of the woollen manufacturers of the borough of *Sudbury*, in the county of Suffolk, and places adjacent, in behalf of themselves, and many others; and also, the petition of the clothiers and manufacturers of woollen cloths in the towns of *Frome*, *Beckington*, and the villages adjacent, in the county of Somerset; and also, the petition of the serge makers of *Culmstock*, in the county of Devon; and also the petition of the several persons, whose names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves, and other merchants, woolstaplers, clothiers, makers, and manufacturers of worsted yarns, bays, and other woollen goods, in the ancient town and borough of *Colchester*, in the county of Essex; and also the petition of woolstaplers, dealers in wool, and manufacturers of woollen goods in the city of *London*, borough of *Southwark*, and other places adjacent thereto; and also, the petition of the several persons whose names are thereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and other merchants, woolstaplers, clothiers, makers, and manufacturers of worsted-yarns, broad-cloth, camblets, stuffs, and other woollen goods in the town and parish of *Wakefield*, in the West-Riding of the county of York, and the villages adjacent; and also the petition of the clothiers and manufacturers of woollen cloths, in the towns of *Westbury*, *Heytesbury*, and *Warminster*, and villages adjacent, in the county of Wilts; and also, the petition of the woollen manufacturers of the several towns of *Castle-Heddingham*, *Sibble-Heddingham*, and *Halsted*, in the county of Essex, in behalf of themselves, and many others; and also the petition of the woollen manufacturers and staplers, in the towns of *Huntingdon*, *St. Ives*, *St. Neots*, and *Kimbolton*, in the county of Huntingdon, in behalf of themselves, and many others; and also, the petition of the several manufacturers in the county of *Suffolk*, who consume very large quantities of fleece wool, in the making of worsted-yarns, says, and other woollen goods; and also, the petition of the clothiers, German serge-manufacturers,

woolstaplers, and other manufacturers and dealers in woollen goods, in the borough of *Devizes*, in the county of Wilts; and also, the petition of the clothiers, woolstaplers, woolcombers, stuff-makers, &c., in the town of *Cirencester*, in the county of Gloucester, and parts adjacent; and also, the petition of the several clothiers, woolstaplers, shalloon and callimancoe makers, and makers of other woollen goods, whose names are thereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and many others, in the towns and parishes of *Bradford*, *Birstal*, *Keighley*, *Guisley*, *Calverley*, and *Bingley*, in the West-Riding of the county of York; and also, the petition of the several bay-manufacturers, inhabitants of *Bocking* and *Brain-tree*, in the county of Essex; and also, the petition of the manufacturers of wool, at *Saffron Walden*, in behalf of themselves and others; and also, the petition of the clothiers, woolstaplers, and manufacturers of wool in and near the borough of *Andover*, in the county of Southampton, whose names are thereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and other dealers in wool; and also, the petition of the woollen manufacturers and staplers, and other principal inhabitants of the town of *Taunton*, in the county of Somerset; and also the petition of the woolcombers, staplers, worsted-makers, and hosiers in the town of *Nottingham*, in behalf of themselves and many others, persons concerned in the worsted manufactories in and about Nottingham; and also the petition of the gentlemen, clergy, wool-growers, and manufacturers of woollen goods in the forest of *Pendle*, and in the parishes of *Colne*, *Burnley*, *Padiham*, *Donnam*, *Clithero*, and *Whaley*, in the county of Lancaster; and also the petition of the clothiers, woolstaplers, woolcombers, stuff-makers, &c., in the town of *Tetbury*, in the county of Gloucester, and parts adjacent; and also the petition of the gentlemen, woolstaplers, manufacturers, and other dealers in wool, living and residing near and in the town or borough of *Grantham*, in the county of Lincoln; and also the petition of the clothiers, woolstaplers, and manufacturers of wool, in or near the borough of *Shafton*, in the county of Dorset, whose names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and other dealers in wool; and also the petition of the serge-makers, druggel-makers, and principal manufacturers of fleece wool in the towns of

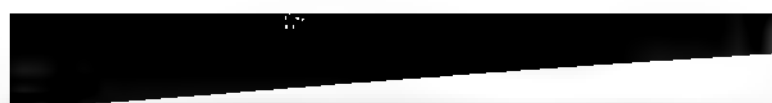
Wellington and *Milverton*, and parts adjacent, in the county of Somerset; and also the petition of the justices of the peace, gentlemen, clergy, and principal graziers in that part of the West-Riding of the county of York called *Craven*, and places adjacent; and also the petition of the hosiers, woolcombers, woolstaplers, and makers and manufacturers of woollen goods in the borough of *Leicester*, whose names are thereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and many others of the said borough and county of Leicester; and also the petition of the staplers and clothiers, and other manufacturers in the town of *Dorchester*, and places adjacent; and also the petition of the mayor, capital burgesses, and assistants, together with the merchants, woolstaplers, serge-manufacturers, and clothiers of the town and liberty of *Tiverton*, in the county of Devon, in behalf of themselves and all others concerned in the woollen manufactures; and also the petition of the clothiers and manufacturers of woollen cloth in or near the town of *Stourbridge*, in the county of Worcester, whose names are thereunto subscribed; and also the petition of the clothiers, master-weavers, and woolstaplers in the borough of *Kidderminster*, in the county of Worcester, in behalf of themselves and many thousands employed by them; and also the petition of the clothiers, serge-makers, and others concerned in the woollen manufacture within the town and borough of *Honiton*, in the county of Devon; and also the petition of the merchants, tradesmen, clothiers, and others, whose names are thereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and many others concerned in the manufacture of woollen goods in the several towns and parishes of *Rochdale* and *Bury*, and in the *Forest of Rossendale*, in the county of Lancaster; and also the petition of the high sheriff, justices of the peace, gentlemen of the grand jury, and others, gentlemen, clergy, and wool-growers, at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, held at *Lancaster*, in and for the said County, on Tuesday, the 14th day of January, 1752; and of the mayor, aldermen, and common council of the corporation of *Lancaster*, and of others, justices of the peace, gentlemen, clergy, freeholders, and wool-growers in the hundred of *Lonsdale*, within the same county; and also the petition of the several persons whose names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and other mer-





[REDACTED]





chants, woolstaplers, clothiers, makers and manufacturers of cottons, linseys, worsted hose, worsted yarn, and other woollen goods in the town of *Kendal*, in the county of Westmoreland; and also the petition of the several persons whose names are thereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and other woolstaplers, woolcombers, worsted-weavers, and woollen manufacturers in the city of *Coventry*, were referred, pursuant to the order of the House, proceeded to examine the matter of such petitions."

And to prove the allegations of the petitions of the merchants and woollen manufacturers of the town of *Leeds*, complaining of the damage done the woollen manufactures by marking sheep with pitch and tar, and the increase thereof of late years; the fraudulent winding of wool, and the insufficiency of the law to prevent the said evils, the agents for the petition called

MR. JOSHUA RAYNER, of Leeds, merchant, whose evidence went to show, that for seven years the price of wool had increased; that the pitch and tar in each pack of wool had increased from 6 to 8 lbs. to 12 to 16 lbs. each. Sheep were frequently branded twice a year, and once would be sufficient. Wool had risen in price from 10s. to 17s. per tod; that the rise was occasioned by the large demand for the manufactures; and that he had been frequently obliged to buy wool much marked, to keep his servants at work: he produced several branches of manufactures, and showed in what manner they were affected by the tar marks. He was of opinion that the quantity of wool grown in Great Britain was about 600,000 packs.

MR. JOHN BROWNING, woolstapler:—The quantity of wool lost to the nation by branding the sheep with pitch and tar is half, or nearly two-thirds of the wool contained in the pitch or tar mark. The annual consumption of wool in England is about 600,000 packs. They reckon about 6 lbs. of wool in each pack wasted by means of the pitch and tar.

MR. JOSEPH HAMMOND gave evidence to the frauds committed by false winding.

MR. DAVID STANSFELD, manufacturer of broad cloths and kerseys:—Very often find deceit in the winding: find in the fleeces cotts, lumps of dirt, mort-wool; coarse, short, shank-

locks, and several sorts of refuse, dirt, and sometimes sand; that the practice of false winding has increased for ten years. He produced fleeces to prove his statements.

MR. JOHN HUSTLER, woolcomber and sorter of wool, confirmed the evidence given by Mr. Stansfeld.

To prove the allegations in the petition from Norwich:—

MR. EDMUND GURNEY, stuff-maker, calculated the loss by pitch and tar at 5 lbs. per pack, and he confirms the evidence before given, as to frauds committed by false winding.

Having examined the above-mentioned witnesses, the Committee came to the following resolutions:—

“ That it appears to this committee, that the marking of sheep with pitch and tar, and not clipping the mark off, before the fleece is wound up, and exposed for sale, occasions a great waste of wool, and is very detrimental to the woollen manufacture of the kingdom.

“ That it appears to this committee, that great abuses are practised in the winding of wool for sale, by wrapping in a fleece of good wool, several other fleeces, or parts of fleeces, of different and inferior qualities, and exposing them to sale, for the same price, as if the whole quantity was of the same quality, and of equal goodness; and by winding in the fleeces for sale, several sorts of damaged wool, such as clag-locks, mort-wool, and unwashed wool, to the great deceit and loss of the buyer, and to the detriment of the woollen manufacture of the kingdom.

“ That it appears to this committee, that great abuses are practised in the winding up in the fleeces, dirt, dung, and sand, and other rubbish, to increase the weight, which abuses are a great deceit and loss to the buyer, and prejudicial to the woollen trade of this kingdom.

“ That it is the opinion of this committee, that all sellers of wool shall be obliged to clip off from every fleece, before the shearing or winding thereof, the brand or mark thereon made with pitch or tar.

“ That it is the opinion of this committee, that no seller of wool shall wind or put into one fleece more than grows on, or is clipped off from one sheep at one clipping.

“ That it is the opinion of this committee that more effectual provision be made by law for preventing all sellers of wool from winding or wrapping in any fleece for sale any damaged wool, tails, cotts, clag-wool, mort-wool, lambs' wool, skin wool, or unwashed wool, or any dirt, dung, stones, sand, or other rubbish, to the deceit and loss of the buyer.

“ That it is the opinion of this committee that the brands or

marks, put upon lambs with pitch and tar, shall be clipped off before such lambs are shorn.

"That it is the opinion of this committee that all fellmongers and skinners, when they pull off the wool from the skins of any sheep or lambs, shall be obliged to clip off the brands or marks made thereon with pitch and tar.

"That it is the opinion of this committee that all sellers of wool be restrained from dividing one fleece into two or more parcels, or selling the same as distinct fleeces.

"That it is the opinion of this committee that all sellers of wool be at liberty to make up and sell clag-locks, mort-wool, unwashed wool, cotts, tails, or other damaged wool in one or more parcel or parcels, separate and distinct from the fleece.

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that no restriction be laid upon using of tar for salving of sheep, or other medicinal purpose whatsoever."

These proceedings on the part of the manufacturers produced great excitement amongst the wool growers in the agricultural districts, and in consequence Mr. Smith, the compiler of "*Memoirs of Wool*," published three pamphlets in 1753, entitled,—

"A REVIEW OF THE MANUFACTURERS' COMPLAINTS
"AGAINST THE WOOL-GROWERS."

The first pamphlet, entitled "*Part I.*," wherein, "*Of Pitch and Tar Marks,—the Excess, the Injury, and their respective Remedies, are considered minutely,*" commences,

"As justice is reciprocally due, not only between individuals, but each collective branch of a community, so in our's, the woollen manufacturers have a title to favour besides. With these sentiments, and in this disposition, I set down to review their last year's complaints to Parliament, occasioned by dear-ness of wool, which (said they) being a temptation to increase the weight, produced these bad effects:—

"1. Excessive marking and branding with pitch and tar.

"2. False and deceitful winding.

"The former a detriment to the manufacturer, and waste of the materials, of which, through large demands for goods, there had been scarcity to a degree of want. The latter a fraud, and consequently an injury to the buyer.

"To both these, certain remedies, then proposed, not having obtained the desired approbation, and the manufac-

turers remaining on that account dissatisfied, it was therefore thought not improper to have the merits of this affair calmly discussed in writing. And because wool is a subject on which I have bestowed much time and pains, on some other regards, I was for that reason desired, and am more inclined to give it a full consideration, under the afore-mentioned articles, adding some observations on what has been occasionally alleged concerning dearness, and a supposed want of wool in the kingdom of late years."

Mr. Smith then mentions the customs in Lincolnshire, as to branding sheep, and points out, in his opinion, the necessity of using pitch and tar, that farmers may know their own sheep: he admits the evil of branding with pitch and tar, although not to the extent as represented by the manufacturers, and suggests, in order to lessen the injury,—

- " 1st. To confine all brands to the buttocks or hinder legs.
- " 2nd. To limit the size of the brands.
- " 3rd. To prohibit the use of pitch and tar to all other marking
" thought proper to be put on sheep."

" I'll then vindicate the wool growers from the attacks made upon them by the manufacturers, and call upon Parliament to unanimously reach forth their hands to save and protect the wool growers from the rapacious attempts of their inveterate antagonists; for such, notwithstanding their merit in other respects, have woollen traders been to wool growers for ages and centuries."

The second pamphlet is written with a view to justify the wool growers from the charge of fraudulent winding the fleece, and attributes the mischief of which the manufacturers complain, chiefly to wool jobbers, who purchase the fleece and practise these frauds.

The third pamphlet contains the following heads concerning the advanced price of wool for several years lately past, and the expediency of searching into the cause of it, all circumstances considered: also how best and most effectually to prevent it being exported raw. With what follows from an unbounded artificial cheapness of that English commodity in the first instances. He begins with the following: " Of the comparative dearness, through a supposed want of

wool in this kingdom, from the year 1743 to 1751 inclusive, being nine years ;" and says,—

"True it is, that without an appearance of scarcity, or (which comes to the same), an apprehension of want, that cannot be dearness of any commodity whatsoever. But wool has been comparatively dear. A person in 1751, (it being that year at the dearest) was obliged to give 17s. per tod for the like, whereof he had bought ten years before at 10s.

"Now, although I must say, if a large demand for manufactures was the sole cause of the material being scarce, as alleged in that case, the price was rather moderate than dear, compared with some of the dearer seasons for that wool since the Revolution, or the common usual price for it before the Restoration : yet, must I also observe, it is the first time that this circumstance alone has been accounted as a sufficient cause for wool being scarce in England, although it may be mentioned, when England had both an uncommon vent for woollen goods, and far less wool grown than at present, and for ten years past, yet without any advance in price in it, but the reverse. The public acts of this kingdom will tell us, as likewise our own memories may, that another incident, an exceeding bad one, hath been thought to attend this English material, and to influence the price, which (it may be proved) at no time since the Restoration, till within seven or eight years, hath been wholly overlooked, as if quite out of the case in all the several deliberations that have been made in reference to wool, viz., runnage, as certainly complained of for upwards of thirty years successively, and almost without interruption, and never once disputed in point, or, so far as public accounts inform us, in either House of Parliament. Nor does it appear to me why this should be thought a thing more incredible for some seven or eight years last past, than at some other periods since the Revolution, seeing that we have not heard of any means used lately for preventing it, beyond what has been before applied, and repeated over and over again, confessedly (as all along supposed) without attaining the desired end.

"Now, though a false appearance of scarcity, or an apprehension of want, ill founded, may raise the price of any commodity for a season, yet every advance so occasioned will be

of short continuance. But this having continued, and moreover increased from 1743 to 1751 inclusive, it does in a manner demonstrate (what the manufacturers have alleged) a real want or scarcity, however that may have been occasioned; and as it has not proceeded from any deficiency of growth, (for there never was the like quantity in the same space of time, or any thing near it, produced before in England), so it must have been the consequence of either enlarged woollen manufacture trade in proportion, or of a clandestine exportation of wool, or both in some degree: if the former, it is nothing strange that the grower perceived the fruits of it in the price of his material, but very hard that any of them should have been so abandoned to take advantage thence to impose upon their chapmen refuse and rubbish for the pure fleece wool. But, notwithstanding its increased growth, the same has been found actually scarce, in consequence of a clandestine exportation, as one cause; and if at the bottom some manufacturers have been dissatisfied with the price, esteeming that any part of the grievance, it is with more reason than otherwise could be well granted to them, and they, of course, though not complaining altogether in the wrong place, yet have been looking for redress where it cannot be had with sufficient effect as to matter of scarcity.

“ Our laws prohibit strictly the exportation of wool, and, supposing them to be duly observed, the proportion there shall be, for a sufficient period, between the quantity produced and the quantity exported in manufacture, is what must govern the price (unless our home consumption, from any particular reason, should vary considerably); and the measure of that proportion must be the increase or decrease of our woollen exports. Now it so happens that the quantity of wool produced in England from the year 1743 (when it first advanced in price to the grower) to this time, has, for divers concurrent reasons, been continually increasing at a prodigious rate, far beyond whatever was the case before in this kingdom; and, which is much to be remarked, the price of it, till the year 1752, was all along advancing, contrary to what is usual in the case of all other produce, of which uncommon plenty is sure to create a proportionate cheapness.

“ I know it is said that our woollen trade hath been

uncommonly great for all the time that hath been mentioned ; and that it hath been considerably so I make no doubt. But the question wanted to be solved is, whether or not it hath exceeded some given foregoing period, in a greater proportion than the produce of this may be thought to have exceeded that ? I say greater, not only because (runnage aside) the advance is not in any view otherwise to be accounted for, but because, even in that cheaper season, it was a general belief that wool was then run, though not in the excessive quantities which some extravagantly represented, yet to such a degree that it was publicly and seriously deliberated how to contrive a scheme of registry that might prevent it. And if, all this considered, there is room to believe that the price of wool, advancing for nine years, was owing to our export trade of woollens, and to that cause alone, it must have been great indeed : a glorious, happy, providential, good circumstance for this nation, afflicted and distressed as it was in other regards during that whole period ! For here let us consider, upon this supposition of no runnage, how cheap wool must have been if the trade had been less than it was ; consequently, how impossible for farmers, with distempered cattle, to pay their rents. On the other hand, how dear it would have been, had not the quantity of it increased proportionably with the supposed increase of trade for those nine years ; and if not, the certain consequence is, that runnage of wool in this period hath been one cause of its price advancing so much, and for so long a continuance. But how far that hath been the case, I presume not to say. Only this I shall venture to affirm, that from the Restoration (when exportation of wool was first prohibited by a standing law) to the year 1743, there is no time assignable in which, selling dearer than common, runnage of it might not be assigned for one cause, so far as those memoirs I have been able to collect inform us. At least there is no time within the period mentioned, when, being dearer than usual in England, there was not reason to suspect its being then run, no less than at other times ; and besides the following, a very authentic example does strongly evince that the price of this commodity hath not risen and fallen with the increase and decrease of our woollen exports, although, *cæteris paribus*,

that must have been the case if it had not been influenced, in some degree, by the more or less runnage of it.

WOOLLEN EXPORTS.		Price of Wool per Tod from the Farmer.						
		£.	s.	d.	to	£.	s.	d.
1718 }	£5,403,993.....	1	0	0		1	1	0
1719 }								
1738 }	£7,376,916... ..	13	6					
1739 }								
1738 }	£4,158,643.....	13	6					
1743 }	£3,541,558... ..	19	6					

“ But Custom-house accounts, in this particular, cannot, it is said, be depended upon ; and though I am sorry they cannot so much as is to be wished, yet being as much to be depended upon at one time as at another, they certainly are the best rule we have to judge by, and therefore I think it very material that the inquiry should be made, to the end it may appear, so far as possible, whether our laws against exporting wool, intended too much in favour of manufacturers, have availed or not ; if hitherto they have not, 'tis not much to be expected that in their present shape they ever will.

“ Should I live to publish a second edition of ‘ Memoirs of Wool,’ I might perhaps hope to overcome the prejudice in a good measure. In the meantime, to stem a little the torrent of it, I shall desire the thinking reader only to consider with himself what is honestly intended in this case by a prohibition.

“ After all, why, in the name of common sense and equity, is the English wool grower alone to forego his natural right of selling his produce at its natural price ? I know I shall be readily answered, ‘ for the sake of promoting manufactures and foreign trade, and thereby the good of the nation, which is the interest to be preferred.’

“ But who is the nation, and what are their names and places of abode ? Mr. Locke has divided the people of a nation into landowners, labourers, and brokers. And if he had said only land-owners and labourers, his division had not been less accurate in my opinion, since brokage is but one species of labour. He hath said likewise, that a kingdom or nation grows rich or poor, as a farmer doth. Again, that in

some regards, (and I think he might have said in all,) 'a farm and a kingdom differ no more than as greater or less.'

"Now as the farmer is certainly not above the landlord, nor the servant and labourer to be preferred to the master, so the land-owners are plainly the great stamina of the nation, and the wool-grower's interest is as plainly their interest; and as their landed estates support principally that other part of the nation, who are in a certain sense their labourers.

"But if the case was otherwise, and so far as matters may be considered in somewhat another view, 'Is not the excess of the value of the complete manufacture, compared with the value of the material of which it is made, generally very great? May not a certain quantity of woollen goods, worked up and finished, exceed in price, when sold abroad, to a vast degree, the quantity of the material of which it is made?'

"And does not the price, then, at which such manufactures can be afforded, depend in proportion upon the price of numberless other articles besides the wool; in short, upon all which the first buyer of it, and the next, and every subsequent dealer, with all their under labourers, eat, and drink, and use, and wear? And have not all these a natural market price? And do not the manufacturers and merchants, and all with whom they are concerned, pay for those in the very same manner with all other consumers of them? Amidst, then, such great variety of others, and, when added together, so much larger expense than is the prime cost of the wool, how great and how unnatural, and consequently how unjust, must that advantage be against the growers, which, in spite of so many possible either embezzlements or diversions into private coffers, shall give any significant weight to the scale of the woollen exportation trade!

"And if all prospect of advantage to the nation from this partial policy,—an unbounded artificial cheapness of wool in the first instance,—be held in this, which I conceive to be the true light, it dwindles to nothing. On the other hand, how glaring is the injustice of making it the misfortune, or rather the punishment, (as if for some great crime,) of particular provinces or parts of this kingdom, that lands there, being

* "The complaint of the manufacturers."

converted into sheep pastures, to the sustaining and promoting of woollen manufactures, the owners and occupiers are not on the same foot with all others, their fellow-subjects! They pay taxes in common, and likewise a common market price for every necessary they want, even to their woollen clothing, and for all superfluities used by them; but their wool, being a principal part of what they have to give in exchange, if the price of this is depressed artificially and unreasonably in the first instance, the terms of their commerce are not reciprocal; they either have not just usage, or else they do not deserve to be treated as denizens or friends, but as aliens and enemies.

“ And can there be so much merit in our woollen manufactures, as is generally and very justly acknowledged, and yet such despite, such disregard due to those who furnish the material that principally supports them? Is this a means to encourage the growth of wool? There is no other article in the farming business of England that causes so brisk a circulation of money, that gives so much real life and spirit to the island, and to the inland trade of the kingdom, as doth a good price and ready sale of wool, which communicates its effects in an extraordinary manner to the whole mass of country people, and to all adjacent inland traders; and, in course, to all those remote merchants and wholesale dealers, without the least sensible bad effect in the general, or any kind of common repining, contrary to what is the case when corn, and flesh, and other provisions are dear, and calamitously so to the poor consumers, and without benefit to the venders who produce them, but the reverse; as that never happens except through a real scarcity, so that, although selling dear, yet the farmer has proportionably less, and several of them none of the kind to share.”

This pamphlet is closed with a violent philippic against the woollen manufacturers in the measures they had taken to prohibit the exportation of wool under any circumstances, and recommends the exportation thereof under a duty,—

“ That it would answer better the grand purpose of prevention than a prohibition does, even traders (the more sensible and considerate part of them) must, I think, be fully convinced in their own minds; but then that narrow immediate

interest, conceived from an unbounded artificial cheapness in the first instance, is what not only blinds their imagination, but the policy of a prohibition hath, in virtue of long usage, too many other votaries besides, although, in reality, the nation cannot be said to have found any better fruits in departing from the old system of a duty, which had prevailed in the kingdom for several centuries, the woollen manufacture and foreign trade growing up and prospering abundantly all the while, as it might have done to this time : for it is a great historical mistake, or rather shows a total ignorance of history in this particular, to say that the English woollen manufacture exportation trade was not, all circumstances considered, full as great in this kingdom while the exportation of wool only stood limited by a duty, as ever it hath been since such exportation was absolutely prohibited under severe penalties."

In 1755, a work was published at Brussels, under the same title as Smith's *Memoirs of Wool* :—

"*MEMOIRE SUR LES LAINES, ou l'on examine*

"1. Quelles sont les différentes qualités des laines propres aux manufactures de France.

"2. Si on ne pourroit pas se passer à France de laines étrangères.

"3. Comment on pourroit perfectionner la qualité et augmenter la quantité des laines de France."

It appears that this small work was written in order to answer the three questions mentioned above, proposed by the Academy of Amiens, for the prize given in 1754; and that the Duke de Chaulnes having drawn the attention of the Academy to that subject, had recommended those questions, and had given a medal of 600 livres to be awarded to the author of the best treatise thereon, and it was awarded to the author of those *Memoirs*. The "*Memoirs*" are compiled from different classic works, and throw very little light upon the subject; but the fact of the Duke de Chaulnes proposing these questions, gave importance to the subject of wool in France, and led to great improvement in the fleece of that country.

“THE FLEECE : by John Dyer, LL.B.,” was published in 1757, and gives, in beautiful language, an account of the wool and woollen manufactures and trade as they then existed.

He divides the subject into four books. The first book relates to the growth of wool, and points out the necessity of the sheep pastures being adapted to the different breeds of sheep ; the fine wooled sheep requiring fine grass and a fine climate ; while the long wooled sheep must have long grass and a moist climate ; and enumerates the advantages possessed by England, in comparison with other countries, for the growth of long wool.

“ On spacious airy downs and gentle hills,
With grass and thyme o’erspread, and clover wild,
Where smiling Phœbus tempers every breeze,
The fairest flocks rejoice.

“ Wide airy downs
Are health’s gay walks to shepherd and to sheep.
But if thy prudent care would cultivate
Leicesterian fleeces, what the sinewy arm
Combs through the spikey steel in lengthened flakes,
Rich saponaceous loam, that slowly drinks
The blackening shower, and fattens with the draught,
Or mark, with clay deep mixed, be then thy choice ;
Of one consistence, one complexion, spread
Through all thy glebe, where no deceitful veins
Of envious gravel lurk beneath the turf,
To loose the creeping waters from their springs,
Tainting the pasturage : and let thy fields
In slopes descend and mount, that chilly rains
May trickle off, and hasten to the brooks.
Thus to their kindred soil and air induced,
Thy thriving herd will bless thy skilful care,
That copies nature, who in every change
In each variety, with wisdom works,
And power diversified of air and soil,
Her rich materials.

“ No fleeces wave in torrid climes,
Which verdure boast of trees and shrubs alone,
Shrubs aromatic, coffee wild, or tea,
Nutmegs or cinnamon, or fiery clove,
Unapt to feed the fleece. The food of wool

Is grass or herbage soft, that ever bloom
 In temperate air, in the delicious downs
 Of Albion, on the banks of all her streams."

The second book relates to the process of sorting wool, description produced in different counties and countries, the measures taken by government to prevent the exportation from Great Britain.

" In the same fleece, diversity of wool
 Grows intermingled, and excites the care
 Of curious skill, to sort the several kinds.
 " Nimble, with habitual speed,
 They sever lock from lock, and long and short,
 And soft and rigid, pile in several heaps.
 This the dusk hatter asks ; another shines,
 Tempting the clothiers ; that the hosier seeks ;
 The long bright lock is apt for airy stuffs.
 If any wool peculiar to our isle
 Is given by nature, 'tis the comber's locks,
 The soft, the snow white, and the long grown flake.
 Hither be turned the public's watchful eye,
 This golden fleece to guard with strictest watch,
 From the dark hand of pilfering avarice,
 Who, like a spectre, haunts the midnight hour,
 When nature wide around him lies supine
 And silent, in the tangles soft involved
 Of death-like sleep : he then the moment marks,
 While the pale moon illumines the trembling tide,
 Speedy to lift the canvass, bend the oar,
 And waft his thefts to the perfidious foe.
 " Happy the patriot, who can teach the means
 To check his frauds, and yet untroubled leave
 Trade's open channels !"

The third book describes the process of manufacture at that period, which might almost be called the infancy of the woolen trade ; and in order to appreciate the progress and improvement from that to its present state, it may be useful to enter rather fully into the subject, and to give the following quotation :—

" Come, village nymphs, ye matrons, and ye maids,
 Receive the soft material : with light step,

Whether ye turn around the spacious wheel,
 Or, patient sitting, that revolves which forms
 A narrower circle. On the brittle work
 Point your quick eye, and let the hand assist,
 To guide and stretch the gently lessening thread.
 There are to speed their labours, who prefer
 Wheels double spol'd, which yield to either hand
 A several line; and many yet adhere
 To the ancient distaff, at the bosom fix'd,
 Casting the whirling spindle as they walk;
 At home, or in the sheep-fold, or the mart,
 Alike the work proceeds."

Dyer then describes the first spinning machine; the invention is claimed by John Wyatt, about the year 1733. That was improved by Lewis Paul, who took out a patent in 1738. Arkwright's first spinning jenny was invented about the year 1768, and consequently, Dyer, who wrote in 1757, must have referred to Paul's machine, as stated in a note.

" But patient art,
 That on experience works from hour to hour,
 Sagacious, has a spiral engine form'd,
 Which on an hundred spoles, an hundred threads,
 With one huge wheel, by lapse of water, twines,
 Few hands requiring; easy tended work,
 That copiously supplies the greedy loom."

He alludes to the popular excitement which prevailed against the introduction of a machine which the work-people feared would interfere with hand spinning.

" Nor hence, ye nymphs, let anger cloud your brows,
 The more is wrought, the more is still required.
 Blithe o'er your toils, with wonted song proceed;
 Fear not surcharge: your hands will ever find
 Ample employment. In the strife of trade,
 These curious instruments of speed obtain
 Various advantage, and the diligent
 Supply with exercise, as the fountain sure,
 Which, ever gliding, feeds the flow'ry lawn."

From the spinning he proceeds to describe the weaving and different works.

“ From hand to hand
 The thready shuttle glides along the lines,
 Which open to the woof, and shut alternate ;
 And ever and anon, to firm the work,
 Against the web is driv’n the noisy frame,
 And o’er the level rushes like a surge,
 Which, often dashing on the sandy beach,
 Contracts the trav’ller’s road. From hand to hand
 Again, across the lines oft op’ning, glides
 The thready shuttle, while the web apace
 Increases.”

“ What need we name the sev’ral kinds of looms ?
 Those delicate, to whose fair colour’d threads
 Hang figur’d weights, where various numbers guide
 The artist’s hand. He, unseen, flow’rs, and trees,
 And vales, and azure hills, unerring works.
 Next from the slacken’d beam, the woof unroll’d,
 Near some clear sliding river, Aire or Strond,
 Is by the noisy fulling mill receiv’d,
 Where tumbling waters turn enormous wheels ;
 Where hammers, rising and descending, learn
 To imitate the industry of man.
 Oft the wet web is steep’d, and often rais’d,
 Fast dripping, to the river’s grassy banks ;
 And sinewy arms of men, with full-strain’d strength,
 Wring out the latent water : then up hung
 On rugged tenters, to the fervid sun
 Its level surface reeking, it expands ;
 Still bright’ning in each rigid discipline,
 And gath’ring worth ; as human life in pains,
 Conflicts, and troubles. Soon the clothier’s shears
 And burler’s thistle skims the surface skeen.”

It would appear that Dyer next proceeds to describe a factory, and probably the first in which the different processes of the woollen manufacture, or rather those of slubbing, scribbling, and spinning were brought into one building ; and that factory appears to have been raised for a parish workhouse, in the vale of Calder, in Yorkshire : though the quotation is long, it is very interesting.

“ Now see o’er vales and peopled mountain’s top
 The welcom’d traders gath’ring ev’ry web ;
 Industrious ; every web too few. Alas !

Successless oft their industry, when cease
The loom and shuttle in the troubled streets ;
Their motions stopt by wild intemperance,
Toil's scoffing foe, who lures the giddy rout
To scorn their task-work, and to vagrant life
Turns their rude steps ; while misery, among
The cries of infants, haunts their mould'ring huts.
O when through every province shall be rais'd
Houses of labour, seats of kind restraint
For those who now delight in fruitless sports
More than in cheerful works of virtue's trade,
Which honest wealth would yield and portion due
Of public welfare ? Ho, ye poor, who seek
Among the dwellings of the diligent,
For sustenance unearn'd ; who stroll abroad
From house to house, with mischievous intent,
Feigning misfortune ! Ho, ye lame, ye blind,
Ye languid limbs, with real want oppress'd,
Who tread the rough highways and mountains wild,
Through storms and rains, and bitterness of heart ;
Ye children of affliction, be compell'd
To happiness : the long wish'd daylight dawns,
When charitable rigour shall detain
Your step-bruis'd feet. Ev'n now the sons of trade
Where'er their cultivated hamlets smile,
Erect the mansion : here soft fleeces shone ;
The card awaits you and the comb and wheel
Here shroud you from the thunder of the storm ;
No rain shall wet your pillow ; here abounds
Pure beverage ; here your viands are prepar'd.
To heal each sickness, the physician waits,
And priest entreats to give your Maker praise.
Behold in Calder's vale, where wide around
Unnumber'd villas creep the shrubby hills,
A spacious dome, for this fair purpose rise.
High o'er the open gates, with gracious air,
Eliza's image stands. By gentle steps
Uprais'd from room to room we slowly walk,
And view with wonder and with silent joy
The sprightly scene ; where many of busy hand,
Where spoles, cards, wheels, and looms, with motion quick
And ever murm'ring sound, th' unwonted sense
Wrap in surprise. To see them all employ'd,
All blithe, it gives the spreading heart delight,

As neither meats, nor drinks, nor aught of joy
 Corporeal can bestow. Nor less they gain
 Virtue than wealth, while on their useful works
 From day to day intent, in their full minds
 Evil no place can find. With equal scale
 Some deal abroad the well assorted fleece,
 These card the short, those comb the longer flake;
 Others the harsh and clotted lock receive,
 Yet sever and refine with patient toil,
 And bring to proper use. Flax too, and hemp,
 Excites their diligence. The younger hands
 Ply at the easy work of winding yarn
 On swiftly-circling engines, and their notes
 Warble together, as a choir of larks:
 Such joy arises in the mind employ'd.
 Another scene displays the more robust
 Rasping or grinding tough Brazilian woods,
 And what Campeachy's disputable shore
 Copious affords, to tinge the thirsty web:
 And the Caribbean isles, whose dulcet canes
 Equal the honey-comb. We next are shown
 A circular machine of new design,
 In conic shape: it draws and spins a thread
 Without the tedious toil of needless hands.
 A wheel invisible, beneath the floor,
 To ev'ry member of th' harmonious frame
 Gives necessary motion. One intent
 O'erlooks the work; the carded wool he sees
 Is smoothly lapp'd around the cylinders,
 Which, gently turning, yield it to yon cirque
 Of upright spindles, which, with rapid whirl,
 Spin out, in long extent, an even twine."

The following note is given with respect to the spinning machine:—

" 'A circular machine'—a most curious machine, invented by Mr. Paul. It is at present contrived to spin cotton, but it may be made to spin fine carded wool."

Dyer then proceeds—

" From this delightful mansion (if we seek
 Still more to view the gifts which honest toil
 Distributes) take we now an eastward course,
 To the rich fields of Birstal. Wide around

Hillock and valley, farm and village smile ;
 And ruddy roofs and chimney tops appear
 Of busy Leeds, up wafting to the clouds
 The incense of thanksgiving: all is joy,
 And trade and business guide the living scene,
 Roll the full cars adown the winding Aire,
 Load the slow sailing barges, pile the pack
 On the long tinkling train* of the slow pac'd steeds ;
 As when a sunny day invites abroad
 The sedulous ants, they issue from their cells
 In bands unnumber'd, eager for their work ;
 O'er high, o'er low, they lift, they draw, they haste
 With warm affection to each other's aid,
 Repeat their virtuous efforts, and succeed :
 Thus all is here in motion, all is life."

The fourth book describes the foreign trade :—

" Now, with our woolly treasures amply stor'd,
 Glide the tall fleets into the wid'ning main,
 A floating forest: every sail unfurl'd,
 Swells to the wind, and gilds the azure sky."

And conducting the reader to every part of the globe where
 the woollen manufactures found a market, concludes—

" Wide o'er
 The globe terraqueous, let Britannia pour
 The fruits of plenty from her copious horn.
 What can avail to her, whose fertile earth
 By ocean's briny waves are circumscrib'd,
 The armed host, and murdering sword of war,
 And conquest o'er her neighbours? She ne'er breaks
 Her solemn compact, in the lust of rule:
 Studios of arts and trade, she ne'er disturbs
 The holy peace of states. 'Tis her delight
 To fold the world with harmony, and spread
 Among the habitations of mankind
 The various wealth of toil, and what her fleece
 To clothe the naked, and her skilful looms
 Peculiar give. Ye too rejoice, ye swains ;
 Increasing commerce shall reward your cares.
 A day will come, if not too deep we drink

* Even in the memory of the compiler, before the improvements in roads and
 now rail-roads, pack-horses were in great use.

The rap, which luxury on careless wealth
(Pernicious gift) bestows; a day will come
When, through new channels sailing, we shall clothe
The Californian coast, and all the realms
That stretch from Ainan's straits to proud Japan,
And the green isles, which in the left arise
Upon the glassy brine, whose various capes
Not yet are figured on the sailor's chart:
Then every variation shall be told
Of the magnetic steel; and currents mark'd,
Which drive the heedless vessel from her course.
That portion, too, of land—a tract immense,
Beneath th' Antarctic spread, shall then be known,
And new plantations on its coast arise.
Then rigid winter's ice no more shall wound
The only naked animal; but man
With the soft fleece shall ev'rywhere be clothed.
Th' exulting muse shall then in vigour fresh
Her flight renew. Meanwhile, with weary wing,
O'er ocean's wave returning, she explores
Siluria's flow'ry vales, her old delight,
The shepherd's haunts, where the first springs arise
Of Britain's happy trade, now spreading wide,
Wide as the Atlantic and Pacific seas,
Or as air's vital fluid o'er the globe."

Though the poet has occasionally indulged in that license which is always allowed to his profession, his description of the wool trade and the woollen manufacture at the time when he writes is correct, and his language is beautiful; and as he has brought it to the end of the reign of George II., it is a fit point to close this chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE YEAR 1765 TO 1790.

Inspectors appointed at Fulling Mills—Register of Cloth Milled—Act to prevent Embezzlement of Yarn and Wool—Superiority of English Woollen Manufacture—Lord Sheffield's Observations thereon—Improvements in Machinery—Riots in the West of England—Committee of Manufacturers, to prevent Frauds in the Worsted Trade—Value of Woollen Goods from 1772 to 1776—Consideration of the present system of Laws respecting Wool, by Thomas Pownal, Esq., M. P.—Proceedings of Deputies from Manufacturing Towns—Poor Rates at Norwich—1764 to 1773—Exeter—Mr. Wolrich's Estimate of Woollen Manufactures in Yorkshire, Calculations, Correspondence, &c.—Governor Pownal on the Exportation of Wool—Meetings respecting the Exportation of Wool—Glover's Letters on the Exportation of Wool—General Meeting of Wool Growers in Lincolnshire—Meetings at Leeds—Meeting of Delegates in London—Meetings in Yorkshire and Huntingdonshire—Description and Use of Long Wool—The Question considered, by Sir John Dalrymple, Bart.—Reflection on the low Price of coarse Wool, by Dean Tucker—An Answer to Sir John Dalrymple, by Nathan Forster, D. D.—The Contrast: a Comparison between the Woollen, Silk, and Linen Manufactures—An Answer to Sir John Dalrymple, by "A Plain Matter of Fact Man"—Plain Reasons, in answer to Sir John Dalrymple—A Letter to the Hundred Gentlemen of Lincolnshire—A Letter on the subject of Wool, by William Mugleston—Inquiry into the Nature and Qualities of English Wool and Sheep—Introduction of Spinning Machines—Laws passed then—Estimate of each Manufacture in England—Consideration of the Woollen Manufacture of Ireland—Lord Sheffield on the Woollen Trade of Ireland—History of the Woollen Manufacture of Ireland—Value of Woollens imported into Ireland—Value of Irish Wool and Yarn—Committee to prevent Fraud in Wool—Spanish Sheep imported by George III.—Laws to prevent Smuggling Wool—Deputation to London from the Manufacturing Districts—Quantity of Wool grown in England—The Question of Wool truly stated—Table of Woollens Exported—Calculation as to the Value of Manufactures and Agriculture—Sir Joseph Banks on the Exportation of English Wool to France—A Letter to Arthur Young, by Thomas Day—Law passed—Letter to Lincolnshire Graziers, by Incola.

IN 1765, the various laws for regulating the manufacture of woollen cloths in the West-Riding of Yorkshire were brought before Parliament, and confirmed; and the Justices of the West-Riding (not being themselves concerned in the woollen trade) were directed to appoint men of good character, bred

to the woollen manufacture, to inspect, measure, and seal all cloths at the fulling mill, and to keep a proper register of the cloths and the clothiers; and the cloth makers were moreover directed to put their names and residence on the end of every cloth, woven or sewed, in plain legible letters. This was the commencement of the appointment of inspectors, whose duty it was not only to measure the cloths at the fulling mill, and stamp on the seal or blank the length and breadth of each piece of broad cloth as well as narrow cloth, but who, in case of dispute between the buyer and the seller, were to be referred to, in order to define these measures; and it was also the duty of inspectors to attend the drying grounds of the merchant or cloth dressers, and see that their cloths were not stretched upon the tenters more than one yard in every twenty, which was stamped upon the seal. The duties of the office were soon abused, and in later years the inspectors became more a screen to imposition and cheatery, than a preventive.

The inspector made annual returns at the Easter sessions held at Pontefract, to the magistrates of the West-Riding, of all cloths stamped at the fulling mills, where a register thereof was kept (vide table in the Appendix): this was considered the barometer of the woollen trade of Yorkshire.

In 1774, great complaints were made by the manufacturers of worsted goods in Yorkshire, of the loss they sustained by the embezzlement of yarn and wool, and an act of Parliament was in consequence passed in that year, to fix the punishment for such crimes.

Some opinion may be formed as to the superiority of the woollen manufacture of England about this period, from the fact (this being the time of the American war, in which she accomplished her independence), that the Americans went to the French, Dutch, and Danish islands, in the West Indies, to purchase the manufactures of those countries, hoping to supplant the British manufactures, but they soon found, notwithstanding the interdiction of Congress, that it was necessary to have stocks of British goods if they expected to have American buyers; those islands were therefore soon filled with British manufactures, which were exchanged for American produce, and thus the British manufacturers

for the American trade were as fully employed as before that war.

An extract from the Earl of Sheffield's "Observations on the Commerce of the American States," though written a few years afterwards, is confirmatory of the above :

"The following fact is a striking proof of the superiority of our woollens to the French, in the opinion of the Americans :

"When France granted a sum of money to Congress for clothing the American troops, Mr. Lawrence was employed to provide it, but instead of laying out the money in France, he went to Holland and bought English cloths, and sent them to America. The French minister was instructed to complain to Congress of this transaction, so ungrateful and injurious to the French ; but Mr. Lawrence justified himself by saying it was his duty to do the best he could with the money, and that the English cloths of equal price with the French were much better : and further to show the preference given to British manufactures in the American States, he need only recollect that the importation of goods from this country, through a variety of channels, was so great during the war, that the French minister residing at Philadelphia remonstrated against it more than once, before the least attention was paid to him by Congress. An act was then made, prohibiting the manufactures of this country under certain penalties ; nevertheless they continued to be imported to so great a degree, that a remonstrance from the Court of France was presented to Congress, threatening to withdraw their aid if more effectual means were not taken to prevent the importation of British goods, which being accompanied with strong recommendations from Dr. Franklin and the other commissioners in France, produced some effect. Some seizures of British manufactures were made, though imported through Holland : this severity took place a little more than a year before the peace. In some instances the goods seized were returned to the owners : prior to this, the shopkeepers, &c. used to advertise as English goods, what in fact were Dutch and French manufactures, in order to recommend them to the purchasers."

During this year, and about this period, considerable excitement prevailed amongst the working classes employed in

the woollen manufacture, in consequence of improvements in machinery. It appeared chiefly in the West of England, and riots took place, particularly at Shepton Mallet, in Somersetshire, where much mischief was done.

Frauds having been still committed in the worsted manufacture, and particularly in combing wool, an act of Parliament was passed in 1777, appointing a permanent committee of manufacturers of the West-Riding of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire, to sit at Halifax, in order to prevent frauds in combing wool, reeling yarn, embezzlement, and other matters. By order of the House of Commons, an account was made of the value, as rated in the inspector's books, of all woollen goods of all sorts, viz. bays, cloths, coatings, flannels, serges, says, stuffs mixed, carpets, and worsted stockings, &c. &c., exported from England to all countries during the years 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, and 1776. That table shows, according to the custom-house computation, (and it was considerably more in reality,) the amount spared from the production of this most important manufacture, beyond supplying the home consumption of all England and Wales, and nearly the whole of Scotland, and which it was calculated gave employment to a million and a half of people in various parts of England. That return confirmed the statement made by Lord Sheffield, that when the exportation to the American States ceased, the shipment to the West India islands in the possession of Holland and Denmark, considerably increased. The following is the table :—

(over.)

An Account of the VALUE, as rated in the Inspectors' Books, of all WOOLLEN GOODS, of all sorts, viz. bays, cloths, cottons, (or coatings) flannels, serges, says, stuffs, stuffs mixed, carpets, and worsted stockings, &c. exported from England to all countries during the following years :—

	1772.			1773.			1774.			1775.			1776.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Africa.....	167571	10	3	223362	8	2	178542	11	11	177132	16	11	68507	13	
Canaries.....	18395	7	8	24869	5	0	29151	6	3	22415	4	2	25692	0	
Denmark, &c....	29416	0	0	16353	0	7	22323	16	3	42380	0	7	44277	3	
East Country....	40855	12	2	24308	5	9	29384	4	4	23162	17	4	24325	1	
East Indies ...	232643	19	0	182422	4	8	148021	17	6	164472	13	8	99172	19	
Flanders.....	203975	7	8	212828	14	6	195699	13	4	258022	7	7	252075	2	
France	2990	7	6	2660	12	2	1306	6	6	16480	17	10	813	10	
Germany	253847	16	11	249696	17	11	277507	10	7	304560	16	10	312759	17	
Holland	411140	3	5	361424	5	4	381912	11	5	397443	12	2	388917	19	
Ireland	169044	17	7	209167	15	6	253806	10	10	318944	0	11	276053	18	
Man				1800	15	0	3090	0	0	2807	18	0	2402	10	
Italy	454992	1	3	367698	5	5	395182	2	3	519007	16	0	483905	5	
Madeira	3726	17	6	4449	15	0	10169	9	4	5809	9	7	2716	5	
Portugal.....	500298	13	11	408270	17	6	428811	12	11	448078	13	2	350104	17	
Russia.....	53011	1	1	71027	15	11	59817	13	1	48576	4	8	58852	7	
Spain	552575	7	6	579373	2	5	655318	14	3	867648	8	0	859119	7	
Straits.....	110811	1	0	50799	9	4	134694	1	8	28111	6	6	21668	6	
Sweden	809	3	0	75	1	0	612	9	6	847	13	6	2723	8	
Turkey	59191	10	0	62732	15	0	89566	17	6	131857	13	6	115306	10	
Venice	13375	10	0	15309	17	0	13132	12	6	12687	6	0	14821	0	
Guernsey, &c....	6801	6	6	3943	1	2	7280	15	0	8054	10	6	11749	11	
Hudson's Bay..	1643	3	2	1928	12	10	1288	7	8	1697	10	8	1658	15	
Newfoundland.	9751	5	3	4538	3	5	5066	18	4	5231	12	5	6153	16	
Cape Breton ...							43	12	6				6	9	
Quebec	61045	1	3	106237	18	1	100887	15	4	171782	1	6	200569	12	
Nova Scotia ...	15428	11	7	4414	12	10	13031	5	5	9601	19	3	53727	12	
New England..	281553	9	10	147717	15	4	168815	16	9	8382	9	3	15657	2	
New York	128879	0	10	76498	5	3	129547	5	8	345	0	0			
Pennsylvania...	216055	2	2	135119	2	8	217205	13	4	210	10	3			
Maryland and Virginia.....	185437	5	3	99308	14	6	133912	10	1	5	18	0			
Carolina	84226	11	10	73403	18	9	91361	1	2	1106	2	6			
Georgia	26492	0	3	16982	15	3	14627	3	9	39719	11	3			
Florida	17357	5	0	20778	2	0	23122	11	7	22518	3	4	42366	14	
Antigua	11219	16	5	8355	0	11	10879	11	11	14328	13	10	19931	2	
Barbadoes	11968	1	1	18417	9	5	11737	5	6	15288	14	2	7955	4	
Bermuda	1999	0	9	1189	15	1	972	14	5	2255	14	0	2239	3	
Dominica	3067	3	2	1277	7	8	9210	10	4	3521	9	0	1976	1	
Grenada	10130	12	3	3037	12	5	2223	4	3	5037	13	1	5384	14	
Jamaica	63841	16	5	68219	18	2	66128	17	6	89403	8	6	68925	15	
Montserrat.....	1512	3	0	505	9	8	483	8	4	2207	11	4	1947	5	
Nevis	1050	19	4	1018	0	0	1471	16	4	1728	16	1	2422	16	
St. Christophers	7488	11	1	4164	0	0	7516	1	8	7274	12	3	12924	9	
St. Vincent.....	1271	2	6	4302	0	5	3460	9	10	8167	13	2	2440	18	
Tobago	1990	4	0	226	14	0	2218	16	2	1664	18	3	1111	12	
Tortola	1701	7	3	2878	12	8	625	17	5	1438	5	9	2711	1	
New Providence	2	15	0	25	0	0	138	14	0	6809	13	3			
St. Thomas.....										162	15	0	1085	0	
Bay of Honduras	0	16	10	0	17	9	4	8	0	62	10	0			
Musquito Shore	196	5	0	2909	14	3	2267	10	0	209	0	0	893	18	
Falkld. Islands										588	6	8			
Total	4436783	4	5	3875929	17	8	4333583	4	2	4220173	0	2	3868053	19	

POWNAI ON THE LAWS RELATING TO W

In this year also a pamphlet was published, en
 "CONSIDERATIONS on the Present System of L
 "ing WOOL, by THOS. POWNAL, Esq. M.
 "vernor of Massachusetts Bay, a native of
 "Chairman of the Great Meeting of the L
 "Commons of Wool Counties, held in Febr
 "at the Star and Garter, Pall Mall, on occa
 "Attempt of the Linen Manufacturers of Ireland
 "Scotland to obtain an additional Duty upon Fo
 "Lins imported, which induced a Threatening to
 "our Woollens from the Russian, Prussian, Saxon,
 "Austrian Ministers; which Meeting called upon
 "Woollen Manufacturers to join them. The Ma
 "turers did join them, and succeeded in Defeat
 "Attempt."

The pamphlet, of which the above is the title, having
 out of the meeting held in 1774, therein alluded to, it will be
 best to give first the proceedings of that meeting, and after-
 wards to notice Mr. Pownal's observations.

The meeting was attended by fifty gentlemen, chiefly Peers
 and Members of the House of Commons, and the following
 invitation was made public:—

"That all Members of the House of Commons who are
 concerned in or for wool, or the woollen and iron manufac-
 tures, are desired to attend the future meetings; and that all
 other gentlemen, interested in those essential branches of
 commerce, are desired to attend and give their information
 and assistance at any of the general meetings."

To those meetings the following were deputed:—

"Mr. Wolrich and Mr. Copley, from Leeds and the neigh-
 bourhood; Mr. Penruddock, from Wiltshire; Mr. Payne and Mr.
 Glover from the Hamburg merchants; Mr. Beeston Long, from
 the West India merchants."

SIR HARBORD HARBORD delivered a state of the expense
 of the poor in the city of Norwich for ten years, increasing
 from £3754 in 1764, to £11,000 in 1773.

SIR GEORGE YONGE delivered a state of the expense of
 the poor in the workhouse of the city of Exeter for eight
 years, increasing from £1300 in 1766, to £1,924 4s. in 1773.
 He also delivered a specification of the foreign linens im-

ported into Exeter from 1767 to 1773; and acquainted the committee that the export of woollens from Exeter had usually amounted to £700,000 or £800,000; whereof the exports to Germany was about £300,000; but that within these seven years it was reduced to about half; and in the last year amounted to £130,000 only.

MR. PENRUDDOCK delivered a state of the poor in the town of Bradford, Wilts, for eleven years, increasing from £1325 10s. in 1763, to £2413 17s. 6d. in 1773. He also delivered the expense of the poor at Westbury, in 1767, at £1030 15s., and in 1773, at £1417 5s. 7½d.; at Warminster, in 1767, at £604 15s. 8d., and in 1773 at £782 2s. 7½d. Also a state of the expense of the poor in the parish of Melksham, in Wiltshire, for fourteen years past, increased from £415 16s. 3d. in the year 1761, to £1,220 2s. in the year 1773.

SIR GEORGE YONGE delivered a specification of the wool and yarn imported from Ireland into the port of Minehead, from the 5th of January, 1767, to the 5th of January, 1774, showing that the importation of this article from Ireland is greatly decreased, especially in the last year.

MR. RYDER delivered a specification of the poor rates of Tiverton, in Devonshire, for eleven years, increased from £1,344 12s. 2d. in the year 1763, to £2,547 11s. 9d. in the year 1773.

MR. COXE delivered a specification of the poor rates of the following places in Somersetshire:—

Of Taunton, for 11 years, increased from £1295 15s. 0d. in 1763, to £1,980 in 1773.

Of Frome, for 8 years, increased from £1,897 16s. 4d. in 1766, to £2,660 3s. 8d. in 1773.

Of Wellington, for 10 years, increased from £647 14s. 1d. in 1764, to £759 5s. 4d. in 1773.

Of Ilminster, for 10 years, increased from £426 16s. 10d. in 1764, to £700 2s. 1d. in 1773.

Of Milverton, for 10 years, increased from £316 in 1764, to £414 15s. in 1773.

MR. WOLRICH, from Leeds, delivered a specification of the quantity of cloths made in the West-Riding of Yorkshire, from March, 1772, to March, 1774,* certified by the trea-

* Vide Table of Cloth milled in Yorkshire in appendix to 2nd vol.









surer of the district, showing that the quantity of cloth made last year was 34,594 pieces less than the preceding years. He also delivered other calculations and particulars relating to the woollen manufacture of Yorkshire, which will be found in the following extracts from Mr. Wolrich's papers, books, and documents; and which give much information respecting the woollen manufacture at that period.

Extracted from the books and documents of Thomas Wolrich, Esq.:

PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT.

" To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

" The Humble Petition of the Manufacturers of Mixed Broad Cloths, in the West-Riding of the County of York :

" *SHEWETH,*—

" That your Petitioners observe, from the votes of this Honourable House, that a Committee is appointed to inquire into the present distressed state of the linen manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland.

" That your petitioners, having long experienced the attention of Parliament to the distresses of the subject, are encouraged to hope they may be admitted to lay before this Honourable House a state of the distresses in which they are at present involved.

" That the demand for their manufactures is, and for near two years past hath been, so much upon the decline, that the greater part of your petitioners are now unable to find employment for themselves and their numerous poor servants, adequate to their necessary support, and that, from the great stock of cloth on hand unsold, they have just grounds to fear they shall not soon be enabled to find them such adequate employment.

" Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray this Honourable House to take their case, and the case of their distressed servants, into consideration; and that they may be heard by themselves to set forth the truth of their condition and circumstances, against any measures which may be solicited in Parliament, tending to add to their distresses, if such should be.

" And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c."

A like Petition of the Manufacturers of White Broad Cloths.

STUFF MAKERS' PETITION.

“ To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.

“ The Humble Petition of the Manufacturers of Worsted Stuffs in the West-Riding of the County of York :

“ SHEWETH,—

“ That your Petitioners observe, from the votes of this Honourable House, that a Committee is appointed to inquire into the present distressed state of the Linen Manufacture of Great Britain and Ireland.

“ That your Petitioners, having long experienced the attention of Parliament to the distresses of the subject, are encouraged to hope they may be admitted to lay before this Honourable House a state of the distresses in which they are at present involved.

“ That the demand for their manufactures is, and for some years hath been so much on the decline, notwithstanding wages have lowered 20 per cent. at least, that the greater part of your petitioners are now unable to find employment for themselves and their numerous poor servants, adequate to their necessary support ; and that from the great stock of manufactures on hand unsold, and other reasons, they have just ground to fear there will be many more of them without employment.

“ Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, &c. &c.”

PETITION FROM THE MERCHANTS OF LEEDS.

“ To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.

“ The Humble Petition of the Merchants of Leeds, in the county of York: SHEWETH,—

“ That observing from the votes of this House that a Committee is appointed to inquire into the present state of the Linen Trade in Great Britain and Ireland, your petitioners are under the apprehension that some additional duty on foreign linens, or discouragement of the import thereof, is intended.

“ That your Petitioners are large exporters of broad cloths, &c. to foreign countries, from whence linens are brought to England.

“ That your Petitioners have well-founded reasons to believe, that the value of the trade, and the several duties and rates made and paid in each respective country are greatly in favour of Great Britain.

“ That your Petitioners apprehend that some measure may be solicited in Parliament, oppressive or injurious to the home con-

sumption of the woollen manufacture, or that may endanger the foreign export thereof.

"Your Petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray that this Honourable House will take the premises into consideration, and that they may be heard by themselves against any innovation in favour of any one particular manufacture, to the prejudice of the woollen, the staple manufacture of this kingdom.

"And your Petitioners shall ever pray."

BY THE COMMITTEE OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, MET AT
THE STAR AND GARTER, IN PALL MALL, 1774.

"Heads proposed as matters of information to be sent up out of the country, relative to the growth of wool and of the woollen manufactures in the several towns and counties from whence petitions have been sent to the House of Commons, and especially to all such points as are set forth or alleged in the several petitions, which allegations must be particularly attended to by the petitioners' witnesses, who are to be sent up, as being necessary to be proved before the House; which witnesses should be instructed as far as possible in all the several points and matters hereinafter specified, as well as in the allegations of their petitions: and they will, in the mean time, be pleased to send up word which of these several heads or points they can give information of, or answers to, and which they cannot, as well as which other heads or points they themselves may think material to the main object, as far as their knowledge goes:—

"The species of wool chiefly grown in your county?

"The medium price at which wool has been sold in your county since the year 1770, and before that period, as far as will show the comparative state of it?

"Whether the quantity of wool grown in your neighbourhood has increased or decreased, and in what proportion, during the same periods; or whether the land has been turned to cattle or tillage?

"The state of the woollen manufacture in your neighbourhood during the same period, the increase or decrease of them, and in what proportion in the different years?

"Whether the foreign demand for your goods has diminished or increased within the same period, and in what proportion?

"The increase or decrease of poor manufacturers within the same period, and in what proportion?

"Whether the decline (if such there be) of the woollen manufactures be owing to any distress of credit, or overstocking of the markets, or both? or does it arise from the nature of the trade, or from what other causes?

“ The particular distresses of your town or neighbourhood, if any ?

“ The connection of the woollen trade with the importation of foreign linens from Russia, Hamburgh, or Germany, in general? and how and in what manner your exports are paid for ?

“ What species of linen (if any) you import from each of those countries, and whether fine or coarse ?

“ In what proportion are the imports to the exports ?

“ Would any additional duty on the importation of linens materially affect your woollen trade in exports? and what sort of goods would it chiefly affect ?

“ Are the foreign linens imported in return for your woollens, of the sorts that principally supply the poor ?

“ N.B. It is desired that the names of such persons whom it is proposed to have examined in the House of Commons, be sent immediately to their several representatives, together with any account of that evidence which they can give, and of the particular points to which they wish to be examined.”

PARISH OF LEEDS.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE POOR RATES for three years, beginning May-day, 1771, with the price of Wheat.

Price of Wheat } per Bushel.	1771			1772			1773		
	6s. 4d.			6s. 4d.			7s. 4d.		
TOWNSHIPS.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Leeds	1402	18	6	1248	7	5½	1581	14	6½
Hunslet.....	350	19	10	349	18	0	432	18	6
Holbeck	223	7	7	209	6	4	284	13	4½
Beeston.....	120	5	0	120	3	0	150	1	0
Armley	266	3	4	274	9	0	284	12	8
Farnley.....	120	9	6	123	6	4	130	7	9
Bramley	150	0	3¾	155	4	11	177	7	2
Wortley	176	13	0	210	14	6	235	18	11
Headingley	94	18	0	90	9	4	103	8	4
Chapel Allerton...	85	7	5	99	0	1	89	6	8½
Potternewton ...	34	17	8½	38	19	3	46	10	8
	3026	0	2¼	2919	18	2½	3516	19	7½
Voluntary Contri- butions in Janu- ary, 1774	Leeds.....			.....			250 9 1		
	Hunslet .....			.....			54 4 3		
Total in the parish of Leeds	3026	0	2¼	2919	18	2½	3821	12	11½

STATISTICS—POOR RATES IN BRADFORD—HALIFAX. 183

POOR RATES IN THE BRADFORD AND OTHER PARISHES.

TOWNSHIPS.	1771			1772			1773		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bradford	392	15	3½	408	16	1½	492	11	6
Ecclesall	66	4	1½	63	16	3½	90	13	4
Idle	279	1	2	279	1	2	337	12	7½
Yeadon	127	16	8½	121	9	11	132	0	0
Rawden	49	1	2½	48	15	7½	84	3	0
Horsforth	121	16	0	141	15	0	202	15	0
Pudsey	411	2	1½	489	18	2½	723	11	1
Gomersal	368	13	0	414	14	8	460	16	4
Dewsbury	249	11	4½	241	11	6½	250	5	0
Ossett	357	14	1½	314	16	3	368	18	2½
Morley	110	17	0	108	14	0	138	3	0
Totals	2534	12	1½	2633	8	3½	3307	0	0

POOR RATES IN THE PARISH OF HALIFAX.

TOWNSHIPS.	1771.			1772.			1773.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Halifax	887	6	9	914	16	7	1000	0	0
Wadsworth	290	12	6	315	0	0	365	7	6
Heptonstall	173	0	0	173	13	9	218	7	0
Stansfield	263	9	0	320	5	0	336	0	0
Langfield	68	0	0	81	12	0	95	4	0
Errenden	167	17	8	174	12	11	210	0	0
Sowerby	253	15	10½	290	9	0	435	13	6
Rushworth	64	7	6	87	5	0	100	2	6
Soyland	138	1	6	138	8	2	177	3	0½
Barkisland	145	12	2	139	7	0½	162	6	0
Elland-cum-Greetland ... }	183	11	8½	186	6	6	227	6	8½
Norland	91	0	0	130	10	0	195	12	11
Skircoat	210	8	3½	274	12	11½	326	6	0
Rastrick	186	19	10	71	14	8	181	12	9
Hipperholme-cum-Brighouse }	178	16	0	145	19	2½	191	7	0
Southowram	386	4	5	415	10	0	437	3	3
Shelf	96	0	0	106	13	4	128	0	0
Northowram	433	6	8	533	6	8	700	0	0
Ovenden	290	0	0	319	0	0	464	0	0
Warley	329	13	11½	373	10	1	339	17	5½
Midgley	160	12	0	220	16	6	260	19	6
Stainland	110	14	0	148	8	6	203	15	10
Total in the parish of Halifax	5109	9	10	5561	17	10½	6766	4	11½

STATISTICS—CLOTH DYED IN THE WOOL.

OF MIXT OR COLOURED BROAD CLOTH DYED IN THE WOOL.

THE OF LABOUR fixed upon average for mixt cloth, viz.:

8 lbs. Warp Wool, 2s. 8d., West do. 1s. 4d., Weaving 3 yds. 10d.
 same as above.

..... 3s. 0d., 1s. 8d., 14d.
 2s. 4d., 1s. 8d., 10d.
 2s. 2d., 1s. 8d., 9d.

1771, and part of 1772, 35 yards of cloth

labour, taking the wool when dyed, and

ring it ready for the mill £2 6 8

..... 1 15 0

about 2d. per yard of the labour belonging the same

h is done by the manufacturer himself, to prepare it for

the spinner, &c. : this and the above is 6d. per yard.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CLOTH in the above years :—

Cloth that sold in 1769 and 1770, at 3s. 9d. per yard.

„ sold in 1771 and 1772, at 4s. 4d. to 4s. 5d. do.

The same sort of goods have gradually fallen from about mid-
 summer 1772 to 1774, to 3s. 6d. and 3s. 7d. per yard.

(Signed)

JAMES THOMPSON,

a Trustee of the Mixt Cloth-Hall, Leeds.

AN ACCOUNT of the STATE of MANUFACTURING WHITE CLOTH,
 viz. White Broad Woollen Cloth, together with the PRICE of
 LABOUR which is requisite to perfect 25 yards of Cloth, at 4s.
 per yard, which I take to be the average price of White
 Cloth :—

	Spinning Warp.		Spinning Weft.		Weaving per String.	Wool Cleaning per Stone.
	lbs.	s. d.	lbs.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1769	6	2 10	6	1 4	0 10	0 9
1770	„	2 9	„	1 3	0 9	0 8
1771	„	3 1	„	1 6	1 1	0 10
1772	„	3 4	„	1 8	1 4	1 1
1773	}	2 6	„	1 2	0 8	0 6
1774						

And at this present, not work to employ the spinners and
 weavers above two-thirds of their time.

(Signed)

JOHN WOOD.

THE QUANTITY OF WOOL requisite to perfect 25 yards of Cloth, and the PRICE OF LABOUR on Cloth sold in 1769, at 4s. per yard:—

	Warp Spinning.			Weft Spinning			Weaving 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ Strings.			Wool Cleaning.		TOTAL.	
	lbs.	s.	d.	lbs.	s.	d.	Strings.	s.	d.	stones.	s.	£.	s.
1769	21	9	11	36	8	0	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	9	3	2	5	1
1770	"	9	4	"	7	6	"	7	10	"	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1
1771	"	10	9	"	9	0	"	11	4	"	2	8	1
1772	"	11	8	"	10	0	"	14	0	"	3	5	1
1773-4	"	8	9	"	7	0	"	7	0	"	1	8	1

(Signed)

JOHN WOOD,

Trustee of the White Cloth-Hall.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF THE STUFF MANUFACTURE.

In the town of Halifax and the neighbourhood, paid for manufacturing one piece of stuff, of the value of 35s., in 1771:—

	s.	d.
Combing, 2d. per lb.	1	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Weaving,	6	0
Warp, spinning 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. to 18 hanks, 2 threads,	6	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Weft, spinning 3 lbs. to 24 hanks,	5	10
Warping and winding,	0	8
	£1	0 7
Wool,	0	12 0

Cost, ... 1 12 7—Sold for £1 15s.

In 1774, the piece cost—

Wages...16s. 3d. }
Wool13s. 0d. } 1 9 3—Sold for £1 10s.

To those who have their spinning most at a distance of 20, 30, 40 miles from Halifax, it will cost 1s. less.

The poor spinners in the West have for spinning 18 hanks, in 1774, less by 4d. than in 1771.

In general one comber will employ fourteen spinners, and four-ten spinners will employ three weavers and a half, or thereabouts. Combing is fallen from 2d. to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and weaving from 6s. to 5s. or 1b. both at home and in the country: spinning has fallen, viz. 18 skeins at home from 11d. to 8d., and 24 skeins from 1s. 2d. to 11d. In the country, warp and weft yarn has fallen by spinning rolls. The following are the prices since 1771:—

PRICES

	AT AND NEAR HALIFAX.		IN LANCASHIRE AND AT A DISTANCE.	
	WARP.	WEFT.	WARP.	WEFT.
	18 Skeins or Hanks.	24 Hanks.	18 Hanks.	24 Hanks.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1771. Aug. 21.	0 11	1 2	0 10	1 1
1772. Oct. 26.	0 10	1 1	0 9	1 0
1773. March 1.	0 9	1 0	0 8	0 11
1774. March 7.	0 8	0 11	0 6	0 9

FALL IN WAGES.

Of Combing everywhere, $\frac{1}{8} = 12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the employ of the poor.

Weaving everywhere, $\frac{1}{8} = 16\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., or $\frac{3}{8}$ do. do.

Spinning warp—

at a distance..... $\frac{4}{8} = 40$ per cent., or $\frac{5}{8}$ do. do.

and at home $\frac{3}{8} = 27$ per cent., or $\frac{2}{8}$ do. do.

Weft—at a distance, $\frac{4}{8} = 30$ per cent., or $\frac{5}{8}$ do. do.

at home $\frac{3}{8} = 28$ per cent., or $\frac{2}{8}$ do. do.

—
1 = the employ of the poor.

So that on an average the fall of the wages of the poor will be about 28 per cent.

(Information from JOHN SUTCLIFFE, of Holdsworth, Stuffmaker.)

GENERAL ESTIMATE OF THE YORKSHIRE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE—EASTER, 1772.

ANNUAL AMOUNT OF THE MANUFACTURE OF CLOTHING OF SHORT WOOL, VIZ.

Broad cloths, narrow cloths, bays, kerseys, half thicks, blankets, hose, Colne serges, and plains, penistones, kerseys, hats, horse sheets, and coverlets..... £1,869,700 15 7½

ANNUAL AMOUNT OF COMBING WOOL, VIZ.

Shalloons, callimancoes, russells, tammies, single camblets or camblettees, pruncells, and moreens, all made of single yarn; everlasting, figured and flowered amiens, serges de Nismes and serges de Rome, whose warps are of double yarn, and various other articles..... £1,404,000 0 0

£3,273,700 15 7½

EXPORT AND HOME CONSUMPTION OF MANUFACTURES
OF CLOTHING OR SHORT WOOL AND LONG WOOL.

	EXPORT.			HOME CONSUMPTION.			TOTAL.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Clothing or									
Short Wool	1,248,741	12	10	620,959	2	9½	1,869,700	15	7½
Long Wool	1,123,200	0	0	1,280,800	0	0	1,404,000	0	0
	£2,371,941	12	10	901,759	2	9½	3,273,700	15	7½

MATERIALS AND LABOUR IN MANUFACTURES OF SHORT
WOOL AND LONG WOOL.

	MATERIALS.			LABOUR.			TOTAL.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Short Wool	623,233	11	10½	1,246,467	3	9	1,869,700	15	7½
Long Wool	234,000	0	0	1,170,000	0	0	1,404,000	0	0
	£857,233	11	10½	2,416,467	3	0	3,273,700	15	7½

"N.B. This estimate was made conformable to my idea of a proper exhibition at the bar of the House. T. W."

PARTICULAR ESTIMATE OF THE YORKSHIRE WOOLLEN MANU-
FACTURES, INCLUDING THE ROCHDALE BAYS, IN 1772.

"The district bounded on the north by Settle, on the south by Saddleworth, distant from each other 40 miles; bounded on the east by Leeds, and on the west by Haslingden, in Lancashire, distant from each other 35 miles. The space of ground occupied by manufacturers equal to a square of 30 miles, about one-half of which are moors and waste ground.

THE ANNUAL AMOUNT FROM CLOTHING OR SHORT WOOL.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Broad Cloth, mixed, and white—112,370 pieces— 3,232,913½ yards, at 5s. per yard.....	808,228	6	3			
Do. milled or made in Lan- cashire, presumed of the value	50,000	0	0	858,228	6	3
Narrow Cloth, 95,539 pieces =2,377,517½ yds. at 4s. 3d.				505,222	9	4½
				1,363,450	15	7½
Bays and other Roch- dale woollens, 124,000 pieces, at 50s. per piece	310,000	0	0			

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	310,000	0	0	1,363,450	15	7½
Deduct and carry to the manufacture of combed wool for worsted yarns, the warp of broad bays	30,000	0	0			
	<hr/>			280,000	0	0
Kerseys—40,000 pieces at at 40s. per piece	80,000	0	0			
Half Thicks, 25,000 pieces, 25s. per piece	31,250	0	0			
	<hr/>			111,250	0	0
Blankets 20,000, striped and plain, at £3 10s.				70,000	0	0
Hose	20,000	0	0			
Colne serges and plains, pe- nistones, kerseys, hats, horse sheets, and coverlets	25,000	0	0			
	<hr/>			45,000	0	0
				<hr/>		
				1,869,700	15	7½

FROM COMBING OR LONG WOOL.

In this branch are employed	3,900 combers.
Whose labour weekly pro- duces, allowing for sick- ness and other necessary avocations, each	36 lbs. of wool.
	<hr/>
Allow two weeks for holiday per annum, and multiply by	140,400
	50
	<hr/>
	7,020,000 lbs. wool.
The average value of 1 lb. of combed wool manufac- tured, 4s.	4 shillings
	<hr/>
	28,080,000 shillings. 1,404,000 0 0
	<hr/>
Total amount.....	£3,273,700 15 7½
	<hr/>

N.B. Besides these are wrought up quantities of Irish and other worsted yarns, made in distant parts of Britain.

THE EXPORT AND HOME CONSUMPTION OF SHORT WOOL MANUFACTURES.

	EXPORTS.				HOME CONSUMPTION.				TOTAL.			
	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	
Broad Cloth,	772,405	9	7½	10	85,822	16	7½	10	858,228	6	3	10
Narrow Cloth	101,044	9	10½	10	404,177	19	6	10	505,222	9	4½	10
Bays and Rochdale Goods	224,000	0	0	10	56,000	0	0	10	280,000	0	0	10
Kerseys and Half Thicks	100,125	0	0	10	11,125	0	0	10	111,250	0	0	10
Blankets	46,666	13	4	10	23,333	6	8	10	70,000	0	0	10
Hose, Colne Serges, &c.	4,500	0	0	10	40,500	0	0	10	45,000	0	0	10
Of Long Wool Manufactures ..	1,123,200	0	0	10	280,800	0	0	10	1,404,000	0	0	10
	£ 2,371,941	12	10		901,759	2	9½	10	3,273,700	15	7½	10

THE MATERIALS AND LABOUR.

	MATERIALS.				LABOUR.				TOTAL.			
	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	
In Short Wool Manufacture... ½	623,233	11	10½	10	1,246,467	3	9	10	1,869,700	15	7½	10
In the Long Wool ditto... .. ½	234,000	0	0	10	1,170,000	0	0	10	1,404,000	0	0	10
	£857,233	11	10½	10	2,416,467	3	9	10	3,273,700	15	7½	10

½ lb. soap used by double piece makers, for scouring their wett, and 6 oz. in scouring the wett, of a frame 40s.

	s.	d.
White Cloth	4	8
Dyeing	0	7
Dressing and tolls	0	5½
Merchant's profit, including package	0	7
Per yard.....	6	3½

	s.	d.
White Cloth	4	8
Dyeing	0	7
Dressing and tolls	0	5½
Merchant's profit, including package	0	7
Per yard.....	6	3½

“ This particular estimate was made for exhibition before a private committee of the House of Commons, where I desired to be examined for it in a strict unrestrained manner, if Parliament should incline to enter at all into the inquiry of the importance and the comparative state of the woollen manufactures of Yorkshire.

“ T. WOLRICH.”

“ The variety of stuffs made from long wool, and the fluctuation of the demand for each sort, discourage the hope of precision in the calculation of the quantities of each; it is, however, attempted in this manner :—

Yarn used about

20	skein for Shalloons	£450,000
21	„ Calimancoes and russells,	280,000
22	„ Everlastings, figured and flowered amiens, serges de Nismes, and other double stuffs,	350,000
23	„ Tammies,	110,000
16	„ Camblets, camblettees, prunells, rosettas, and ante loons	100,000
15	„ Moreens, harrateens, shags, and sundry other articles	84,000
16	„ the warps of broad Bays deducted from the Rochdale manufacture	30,000
		<hr/> £1,404,000 <hr/>

CORRESPONDENCE CARRIED ON BY MR. WOLRICH ON
THE SUBJECT.

Copy of a letter wrote by T. Wolrich, from London, to a mercantile house at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, his correspondent there :—

“ London, 4th March, 1774.

“ GENTLEMEN,—Immediately after I had packed your goods, I was called up hither, on account of a design of the Scotch and Irish linen manufacturers, to obtain from Parliament here an additional tax or duty on German and other foreign linens, which will very likely induce your Sovereign Princes to lay an additional duty on our woollens, and thereby hinder your demand for them. The great men here give attention to us, and will help us, if there be any danger of our trade being hurt. I am ignorant of the duties charged in Germany on our woollen goods, and will therefore be much obliged to you if you will advise me by return of post, what duties are chargeable upon the goods I send you. Whether there hath been lately any new additional duty laid on them, or only the ancient duty is continued? Whether there be any duties paid upon

our goods bought of you, after they are sold by you, and how much, in the different countries to which you sell them? Be also so good as to give me your free opinion, whether, if England lays an additional duty on German linens, and the Princes of Germany lay an additional duty on our woollens, your trade with us will be greatly hurt. None understand this subject better than yourselves; and there is no person whose opinion shall guide me in preference to yours. I have come at the request of the merchants of Leeds, who refer the business to me solely, and therefore I would be well advised.

"I shall also be glad to know what manufactures you have in Germany that can supply you with woollens, if ours should be burthened. Do they not make woollens in Bavaria, at Eysenach, at Berlin, and in Silesia? and do not you buy large quantities from Aix-la-Chapelle and from France? Every particular that occurs to your observation, be pleased to write to me by return of post, and you will oblige,

"Yours, &c.,

"THOS. WOLRICH."

Copies of, and extracts from, Letters to Mr. Wolrich:—

"Bremen, 12th March, 1774.

"In answer to your favour of the 4th March chiefly, I must say that you may expect that, as soon as more duty is laid on the linens from Germany, there will be put likewise the same on all the woollen manufactures from England, especially in the Prussian dominions; as from those parts the linens chiefly come, and the country would suffer much by it.

"Till the present time there is scarce any duty on English woollen goods. At Elsfleth one piece of cloth, 6 gr., about 3d.; shalloons, 1 gr.; kersey and bays, 2 gr.; and here in town nothing at all, but what passeth over here must pay as all other goods 8 gr., or 4d. for 300 lbs. weight, or 3 centner. In the Prussian dominions it is likewise a very trifle that they pay for the goods for own use; and what goeth through, nothing. In Brunswick, Hanover, Osnaburgh, Saxony, and all over Germany, it pays nothing. As for the manufactures, we have all kinds, but as the English excel in the manufacture itself, also in the specie, as wool and spinning, &c., so by that, your goods are in course and preferred, but we can do very well without them. As in regard to the cloth at Leeds, the spinning is too coarse, and this is the real reason that these goods are not asked for so much as before. Considering all this, it is very sure that, if the least duty is laid on your goods

here in the Prussian country, your sales will lessen very much, and they can do as well with their own goods. And there is one thing more to be observed, that as the linens are not sent so much as before, so the bills of exchange will be scarce; and as by the bad trade now, the exchange has risen from 560 to 570 in two years to 615, then we have to expect that they will rise to 650 or more, for such a difference as we have had, about 8 per cent. hath occasioned that our German goods have been bought the more, and as we should pay by exchange still 8 per cent. more, your goods must stay in England, or you must lower the price in proportion; and what your manufacturers of linen will gain, the manufacturers of woollen goods must lose; and not only this, but by the high exchange, we shall be obliged to take all other goods, as sugars, pimento, coffee, &c., from France."

(Extract.)

"Francfort, 20th February, 1774.

"One great difficulty under which the trade of English goods lies, is the exceeding high exchanges, which are raised so excessively since the late failures at Amsterdam and London, that it is much higher than the worth of guineas in gold. We don't know if it is in the bank in London, or the merchants or bankers there, who get so large a profit; but what is very certain is, that if it is the interest of the English nation that the exchanges be not too low, it is as much, and more, the interest particularly of the manufacturing part of it, to procure that it may not be too high, in order to make no stop in the exportation of goods. Besides this, many of your customers take the high exchange as an excuse not to pay you so soon as usual, of which we heard often complaints of the gentlemen from Norwich and your part, and to hinder the French and German manufacturers to get a preference. We could give you instances that they have got some in different articles already, if it was not too long to enter into this detail in a letter. We think ourselves obliged, as particular friends of your nation, to advise you if it is not proper to reflect upon this matter with the gentlemen of your place and all other manufacturing places, in order to give together proper instructions to your members of the present parliament, to employ their power to put the exchange in a due proportion to the price of gold. We hope we make ourselves intelligible."

(Copy.)

"Quakenburgh, 16th March, 1774.

"Friendly replying to your most esteemed favor, dated London, 4th March, I am very much surprised to see how there is intention

of raising the duties upon the Osnaburg, Hessian, Silesian, and every other sort of linen, whereby the trade from Germany to England in that branch will be greatly distressed. The Sovereign Princes of Germany will be extremely inflamed if that act comes to perfection, and will be induced to revenge it in such a manner, whereby your fabrics will be greatly injured. They will soon lay new duties upon all manufactures coming from England, and encourage their own manufacturers to extend their fabrics in such a manner, that we can soon wholly forbear English goods; and there are such large manufactures of all sorts in Germany, that there is no want from England, if needs be. The long time since the trade in linens to England has been so bad, the courses of exchange are so far advanced that there is no proportion in any way. Should the trade be wholly disturbed, the courses naturally will be still higher, and then the trade from England here dissolves itself. Pray to consider the £100 has risen from 560 to 612 and 620 dollars. Reasons enough to forbear English goods, and to look after German! Should it long continue, you will be obliged to put your prices so much down in your goods, as the stocks accumulate, or you find yourselves without orders of any consequence. I can also tell you, that in Saxony and in the Prussian States are such extended fabrics in all sorts of woollens, that the whole of Germany can be supplied with their goods.

"Amongst the principal cities are the following :

- "Eisenach—in shalloons, berills, gorgas, &c.
- "Berlin—in serges de Nîmes and de Rome, everlastings, striped and plain callimancoes, camblettees, taborettees, bays, &c.
- "Gorlitz, Cöthus, Spremberg, Dobelorf, Francfort, Züllichau, and many other places, in cloths.
- "Verviers, Aix-la-Chapelle, Leyden, Eupen, Ketwig—in fine cloths; and of all those goods come such prodigious quantities to the fairs of Brunswick, Leipzig, Francfort, Naumberg, &c., that each merchant can be sufficiently provided, and the goods answer as well as the English.

"Further I have to observe, that there is not the least excise, or duty on goods coming from England.

"We live under the eye of our good Prince Frederick, your worthy king's son, (Frederick, Duke of York, son of George III., and bishop of Osnaburg, but who could be at that time only twelve years old) who will probably assist you in preventing new duties, at least on Osnaburgs and linens, for the mutual interest of his subjects there and here. I shall be always very glad to hear that it remains on the old footing, in order to keep in the good harmony between England and Germany, &c."

(Extract.)

" Altona, 22nd March, 1774.

" The sundry questions you want my information about, I am not able to answer all, some countries being a great distance from hence, and, as I have no correspondents there, can draw no certain intelligence. I wish the following may be of service:—

" Altona—is a free place for trade, pays no duty at all.

" Hamburgh—is paid for woollens imported for consumption $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on the value.—Goods imported here and at Hamburg in transit pass duty free.

" Hanover, Luneburg, Wolfenbuttel—the duties (if any) paid on woollens are very trifling.

" Bohemia, Hungary, Saxony—I cannot learn what duties are paid.

" Brandenburg, Prussia—No woollens go, being prohibited.

" Elfleth on the Weser—The duty is pretty much the same as that paid at Stade, which is generally paid by the ship, out of the primage allowed them.

" Bremen—The duty is trifling. The merchants there sell as low, or lower, than we do here.

" Copenhagen—All kinds of woollen goods are manufactured, and have been made for these thirty years past. They supply the whole of the kingdom of Denmark. No foreign manufactures are imported; if discovered, they are seized. Whether the present state of their manufacture is improving or not, I cannot say. The encouragement given thereto by his Majesty is great, all foreign goods being prohibited.

" Brunswick—There are no manufactures.

" Silesia, Prussia, Saxony—are great manufacturing countries. They make all kinds of woollen goods, and export them. They are better than the English, especially the coarse cloths, of which a great deal is sold in these parts, and is full 20 per cent. cheaper than the English.

" Berlin—Are made all kinds of stuffs, which are good and cheap.

" Eysenach, Mülhausen—The shalloons made there are not so good as the English, not having substance enough; they are very cheap, and improve greatly.

" Gottingen—Camblets are made, which are very good, and excel the English.

" Aix-la-Chapelle, Leyden, Abbeville—Great quantities of cloth are made from 8s. to 24s. per yard, that is used in great quantities, being very fine for the money, and excels the English as well in colours and qualities as in prices. English cloths at those prices are very little used. I don't think that the city of

WOLRICH'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Hamburg draws twenty pieces of fine cloth from England a year. All the woollen manufactures in Germany are so very much improving, that I firmly believe in fifty years to come there will be no more English woollen used."

" Frankfort, 13th March, 1774.

" We thank you for the confidence you place in us, in consulting us upon the efforts which the manufacturers of Scotland and Ireland are making to obtain from Parliament an additional duty on the linens coming from these countries. In our reply thereto, we will consider ourselves as Englishmen, and as such, we cannot hold additional duty to be disadvantageous to the nation; for everything that limits, or tends to limit, a branch of commerce so considerable, and so profitable, as that of the exportation of wools, is, ought to be avoided with the greatest care. And it is that the powers interested in the sale of linens to England, example, Saxony and the Empress Queen, seeing themselves aggrieved by this additional duty, will augment likewise the duty on the woollens which are consumed in the Low Countries, Tyrol, and that part of Italy which belongs to the House of Austria, as in Saxony, at the fairs of Leipzig.

" As to the question you ask, whether woollens pay a duty upon import or export here? we answer that they pay none; nor do any goods of wool, silk, or cotton, of whatever manufacture or country. This is one of the most valuable privileges of our city, and that which preserves its commerce. But we are only the passage by which your goods go, and are dispersed through the different parts of Germany.

" They pay no duty of any consequence in the Electorates of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, Palatine, nor the other little States in our neighbourhood.

" At Leipzig the duty on importation of English woollens is about half per cent.

" In the Low Countries about 16 per cent.

" In the Electorate of Bavaria 10 to 15 per cent.

" In Austria and Bavaria more duty, where they wish to favour the fabrics of their own country.

" These particulars, we believe, will answer satisfactorily your first question.

" As to the second,—What woollen manufactures would supply the place of the English, in case they should become too dear, in consequence of any increase of duty that the powers interested in the sale of linens might put upon them? we answer,—

“ Besides the little fabrics which there are in several towns of Germany, amongst others at Fredericksdorff, where there are manufactured to the amount of from £20,000 to £30,000 sterling per annum of striped flannels, and at Hanau woollen camblets, and in Hesse serges to a very considerable amount. At Gera, in Saxony, they make very good serges de Rome and serges de Nismes, everlastings, amiens of mohair and of wool, plushes, barragans, striped and plain camblets, flannels, common cloths, and several other articles, of which we ourselves draw large quantities.

“ Eisenach is very famous for serges and shalloons, which have a great sale all over Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, where are sold also many of the fabrics of Gera. Large quantities of these serges go through our hands, and they have partly been the occasion of the decrease of the demand for your shalloons.

✓ “ The woollen manufactures of Berlin are well known. Their serges de Rome are better than the English. They manufacture woollens of all kinds ; many merchants of that city come to our fairs, and sell thereof for very considerable sums : we ourselves sell large parcels every year.

“ Common and middling cloths are made in many parts of Saxony, Silesia, and Bohemia, cheaper than those of your country, and there are sold now a good deal of Saxon cloths, which were formerly obtained from Yorkshire, and which occasions the decrease of demand of which you have lately complained.

“ The fabrics of fine cloth at Aix-la-Chapelle, Monjoye, Verviers, and Haudimond are, and become every day more considerable. We do not exaggerate in the least in declaring, that at each place there are sold far more than £100,000 sterling ; and besides, they have a very considerable consumption in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy.

“ With regard to the fabrics of France, they are well known : you know that there is a very good manufacture of velvets from cotton at Rouen, but in which the English have hitherto held the preference. The case is not the same with regard to those of Amiens, which furnishes all Germany with hair plushes, because they have made them cheaper than the English : within these twenty years I recollect that we drew them from England.

“ Lille, in Flanders, furnishes different sorts of camblets and calimancoes, and we draw many from thence.

“ Independent of all these fabrics, there are still great quantities of woollen goods drawn from England for the consumption of Germany ; but what we have mentioned above proves how necessary it

is that the Parliament of England should avoid every thing that might tend to diminish a commerce so advantageous to your nation, especially as England gains considerably by the balance of its trade.

"We forgot to tell you, that besides the fabrics of cloths, there are fabrics of woollens in the States of the Empress Queen, which begin to be of consequence: amongst others, there is a considerable one at Lintz.

"To Thomas Wolrich, Esq."

DUTIES ON EXTRA IMPORTS, HANOVER, 1768.

[It is supposed that in this Electorate all foreign goods are chargeable with other duties besides what are contained in this extract, and that therefore these are styled "Extraordinary."]

Short extract from the existing orders or regulations relating to the extraordinary trade imposts:—

"This impost, introduced since the years 1710 and 1711, for the encouragement of the home manufactures in the principalities of Calenburg, Gottingen, and Grubenhagen, as also in the county of Diepholtz, and in the Bailiwick of Wildeshausen, is payable upon various goods over and above the usual 'Zoll Duty' and 'Licent Excise,' and is laid and taken upon the hereafter-mentioned foreign goods, in the proportion following, viz:—

I.

At 5 per cent. on the bulk, or 15 pfenningen* upon each dollar in value.

1. On all sorts of woollen summer and winter stuffs, as men's camblets, barracans, and the like.
2. On frizes (frizes mean in Germany also thick rough duffields).
3. On all sorts of land bays (flannels).
4. On cloths for lining.
5. On serges de Rome and serges de Nismes.
6. On flowered and plain callimancoes.
7. On woven woollen horse coverings (horse sheets).
8. On such-like bed covering (coverlets).
9. On such-like table coverings (table coverings are used for tables of in-laid and other fine work, to preserve them from dust, &c.)

All the goods of this class, which cost on bringing in 18 Mar. groschen or under per ell, (the Brunswick ell is $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches English) pay the same duty, how low soever the price be.

* 6 pfenningen equal to 1 Mar. groschen; 36 Mar. groschen equal to 1 rix dollar, or 3s. 7d. sterling.

II.

At 6 per cent. or 18 pfenningen upon each dollar value.

1. On etamines of one colour, wherever made.
2. On ratines (ratins are napped thin cloths, made for covering coffins and mourning, and also sometimes used for other purposes).
3. On striped and spotted tapestry of wool (tapestry is a general name for hangings of rooms).
4. On siezing cloth used in the mills (supposed corn or flour mills.)

III.

At 8 per cent., or 3 Mar. groschen upon each dollar value, on all imported leather gloves, of which the dozen is sold, at three dollars and under.

IV.

At 12 per cent., or 4 Mar. groschen 4 pfenningen on each dollar value, on all foreign hats, of which the single piece or hat cost 1 dollar 18 Mar. groschen and under.

V.

At 24 Mar. groschen upon each piece.

1. On five-fourths broad mixed serges, of which the yarn is spun of combed wool, or whereof the weft is of carded wool, and their lengths 34 or 36 ells in measure.
2. On dyed serges, or tuch rasch, of same length. (Rasch, in German, means coarse shalloon.)
3. On 5-4ths to 6-4ths broad rasch, from 36 to 38 ells.
4. On ell-broad crape of about 50 ells (supposed to be Norwich crapes.)

VI.

At 30 Mar. groschen upon each piece.

1. On 5-4ths and one-half broad says, of 38 ells over here measure and upwards.
2. On 7-4ths broad rasch (serge or shalloon), same length.
3. On ell-broad droguitts, from 56 to 60 ells.

VII.

At one dollar upon each piece.

1. On 6-4ths broad cron rasch (Exon says), from 30 to 40 ells.
2. On printed serges, same length.

VIII.

At 1 dollar 6 Mar. groschen upon each piece.

1. On 5-4ths and one-half broad shalloon, about 45 ells, (near 30 yards English,) which are only distinguished from the before-mentioned says by their clear quill and better quality.

IX.

At 1 dollar 18 Mar. groschen per piece.

On flannels, as well from 36 to 40, as from 50 to 55 ells.

X.

At 1 Mar. groschen per ell.

On all foreign striped camblets and callimancoes, striped 6-4ths broad flannels, cotton striped flannels, and striped half linen stuffs, (the striped half linen stuffs are supposed to be for bed quilts, pillows and bolsters.)

XI.

On foreign woven woollen summer and winter hose.

1. On a pair of long men's stockings, 6 Mar. groschen.
2. On a pair of short ditto, 5 ditto
3. On a pair of women's ditto, 4 ditto
4. On a pair of children's ditto, 3 ditto

XII.

On each quintal or cwt. of foreign laton and wire, 1 dollar, and a 1 lb. weight, 3 pfenningen.

XIII.

On raw ox and cow hides and calf skins exported.

1. For each raw ox or cow hide, large or small, 6 Mar. groschen.
2. For each raw calf skin, ditto, 2 ditto.

XIV.

Penalty for each article concealed or falsely entered, whether singly or in parcels; the first offence forfeits the goods, or the value of them is seized or levied and given to the informer. For the second offence, the offender not only forfeits the goods, but also the value of them. And if again repeated, the penalty on every fraud is to be doubled. The examination and determination on these import frauds are by the inspector of the district where the offender lives. All merchants and Jews who would deal in these import articles, must take the proper oath of imposts before one of these inspectors residing within the district where they dwell and carry on business, before they can be admitted to trade therein.

Hanover, 4th June, 1768."

FROM THE ROYAL AND ELECTORAL PRIVY CHANCERY.

"My friends at Hamburg applied 4th July, 1768, by letter, complaining that the trade in English goods was very much cramped by a declaration (meaning the above), that all foreign goods should

pay a large tax, and the English to bear the same; and that they had in vain solicited for a change therein, especially concerning English goods, and desired me to petition for an exemption of English goods from this duty, otherwise the commissions would be small. On my request to have a copy of the edict, they sent me the above from Brunswick, 19th August, 1768, and observed, that besides the stipulated impost, there had been some years 5 per cent. war assistance money laid ou; and the English hose paid besides this a duty of 10 per cent., and that they had written to all their friends in London, Norwich, Manchester, Exeter, and Nottingham on the subject of presenting petitions, &c.

"T. WOLRICH."

PRUSSIAN CONCESSIONS.

"To Governor Pownal. (Copy.)

"Sir,—In consequence of what you suggested, that the gentlemen of landed interest in England would by no means be disposed to disturb the old proportion of rates and duties on merchandise between the dominions of his Prussian Majesty and those of Great Britain; and that it would confirm them in these good dispositions if his Prussian Majesty would be pleased to show a mark of his good disposition to these interests. I did lay this matter before his Majesty, and having received the honour of his commands on that head, I have the pleasure to communicate to you his answer. That his Majesty, in consideration of your suggestion, and in confidence that his subjects will always experience from the sentiments of those gentlemen who compose the British Parliament, reciprocation of the like good and friendly disposition; and that while he is making concessions in favour of the British commerce, they will at least leave that of his dominions in its former state, undisturbed both as to its entrance into Great Britain and its transit; and wishing to give a real and substantial mark of his sensibility to Great Britain, according to what you have suggested to me, is disposed to make the following concessions, the importance of which will, I hope, be considered by the public as a strong proof of his Majesty's friendly disposition to Great Britain and its commercial interest.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient humble Servant,

(Signed)

"MALTZAN."

"Jermyn-street, 31st March, 1774."

TRANSLATION.

- "1. The duty of transit on the side of the Elbe, which makes the principal entry of English merchandise into Germany, instead of 33 per cent. of their value, shall in future, upon fine cloths, woollen stuffs, and hardware, be collected according to weight, viz., for the quintal of 110 lbs. of Cologne, of these articles passing into Saxony, six silver groschens (one silver groschen being between 1½d. and 2d.); and on those passing to the other Provinces of Germany, the half part of three groschen. A duty so moderate, it is easy to comprehend, is not so much a tax as a means merely to control the passage.
- "2. The transit of the said English merchandise for Silesia, and which has hitherto been at 8 per cent. in passing by the grand route of Breslau, shall be reduced to one-half, or 4 per cent.
- "3. In West Prussia, the above mentioned articles of English commerce, entering by sea, and passing into Poland, shall be exempted from all payments of transit, and shall be liable only to the usual tolls according to their real value, and the principles of the Polish tariff in the time of the Republic.
- "4. That merchants of East Prussia having permission to pass a certain quantity of woollen goods into Poland free from transit, this liberty shall be extended to all merchandise of English fabric.
- "5. In Westphalia, the Provinces of Cleve, Minden, Mark, Ravensburg, Guildres Moeirs, Lingen, and Tecklenberg, the above mentioned English merchandise shall be permitted, even for the interior consumption, without their being subject to the payment of any other duty than such as the fabrics of the country are liable to, and shall enjoy besides an absolute liberty of transit to the neighbouring provinces.
- "It shall be the same in East Friesland where these English manufactures shall be taxed on a par with those of the country itself."

The result of these proceedings is communicated in the following letter from Mr. Aaron Tozer, Secretary to the Committee, to John Blayds, Esq., Leeds :—

"London, 18th May, 1774.

"SIR,—I am desired by Governor Pownall to acquaint you for your own information, and that of the other gentlemen from whom he lately received a very obliging address, that the matter in contest in the House of Commons, relative to the linen business, has yesterday been finally decided.

“ The supporters of that matter had resolved to bring forward three propositions, viz. :—

“ The altering the rates on the German and Russian linen imported.

“ The laying a duty additional upon Silesian tabling.

“ The granting a bounty on British and Irish linen painted and stained.

“ But as this business drew to a close, and finding that they had reason to fear a defeat, they sought on Thursday last, when the evidence closed, to put off the decision to a future day after the holidays, and probably meant to defer it to another year. The woollen party insisted on an immediate decision, and showed themselves so strong, that the opposite side were too well convinced of their inferiority. The former having then got yesterday appointed for the debate, the linen interest dropt the proposing the two first points they had just before resolved upon, and moved only the last. This they endeavoured to support with all the force of argument they could offer, but without effect; and after a contest of about six hours, they lost it by a minority of 63 to 129. Governor Pownal then moved for the chairman to leave the chair, which, though opposed, was carried without a division, and thus the matter finally closed.

“ I am, &c.,

“ A. TOZER, Secretary to the meeting on this occasion.

“ I beg the favour that this letter may be shown as communicated to Mr. Thomas Wolrich, to whom I cannot conveniently write to night, and the rather defer it because I hear he is not well.”

Votes of thanks were communicated to Governor Pownal, from the manufacturing districts, and the following is a copy of his letter acknowledging them :—

GOVERNOR POWNAL TO THOMAS WOLRICH, ESQ.

“ SIR,—In looking over your letters, I find in that dated Bradford, May 21, and directed to you, that the manufacturers of worsted goods have desired you to express their sense of my attention to their interest, and to return their thanks. I beg that you will in return make it known to them how much I am flattered, and how fully I feel myself repaid for all the trouble I took in finding that it has been useful, and that it is agreeable to them.

“ But we must not let matters drop here. A constant attention and watching is necessary. The Irish threaten to turn their thoughts to the woollen manufacture. Those concerned in the woollen trade should inquire—

" 1. How much of it they have already ?

" 2. How far their selling their wool immediately to France forwards the French manufactures : the price of wool in Ireland, viz., near 32s. sterling per tod, is sufficient proof of that.

" I think it right to advise you that your people should, both by themselves and by their correspondents in the west, get a thorough actual knowledge of this, so as to be prepared to take it up in Parliament, and when obtained, I beg to have your correspondence on this head.

" I find that the edict which I obtained in favour of your commerce and manufactures, in the King of Prussia's dominions, may be made to lead to much further and greater purposes, and become the basis of a commercial treaty with that monarch. I beg that the merchants and manufacturers in your parts will consider how their interests should be stated, and how it may be advantaged in case one should be able to propose a proper treaty. I wish to be informed of the sentiments of both in this matter, and remember that the true way to carry real substantial and permanent advantages, is to aim only at such as are practicable and consistent with the mutual interests of such states as you treat with. Much may be done for our merchants, even upon the supposition that the King of Prussia takes drawbacks. I think that event may be even made a ground of great advantage to the British merchant.

" When thoroughly weighed and precisely decided, I should be glad to receive your opinion, and that of the merchants, on this point, as I think I may have an opportunity of turning it to advantage. You will communicate this with my best respects to the merchants at Leeds, &c. with any of whom you will favour me with their opinion, and I shall be ready to communicate and correspond on the subject. This matter, however, should rest within themselves, and not be opened to public topic.

" I am, &c.,

" T. POWNAL.

" Richmond, Surrey, July 4th, 1774."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. WOLRICH TO GOVERNOR
POWNAL.

" Leeds, 7th July, 1774.

" Sir,—I am much obliged, much honoured, by the communication of your opinion that the Prussian edict may be the basis of a commercial treaty with the King. The attention of the merchants to that matter is certainly necessary, as it is beyond the sphere of a manufacturer's speculation. In deference to your

recommendation, I will try the merchants of Leeds. Be so good as furnish me with materials for their information. I will faithfully communicate them. If I can succeed as well with about fifty merchants, as I have already with one hundred times their number of manufacturers, to appoint a proper committee for managing their proper department in this great business, I am not without hope that something may be done to the purpose ; and if you can prevail upon Mr. Lascelles to recommend them the choice of such a committee, care should be taken that they be not too numerous, and of persons who know something of the general extended interests of commerce, and are willing as well to attend the business as to draw together. In the latter only I have my doubts.

“ As I know it is one of your laudable maxims not to undertake any business of which you are not or may not be a thorough master, permit me to make that maxim my own, and in deference to it, beg you will tell me where or how I can be furnished with copies of the treaties of commerce now subsisting with respect to the trade of the Baltic with us, I mean those parts which now are of, or which it is probable that Providence may add to the Prussian dominions. “ T. W.”

EXTRACT FROM THE ALTONA MERCURY, 27TH JUNE, 1774.
(Translation.)

“ Berlin, 23rd June.

“ By a renewed Royal edict, bearing date Berlin, 11th May, the former regulations concerning the transit and import of all English goods have been renewed and explained, and that care has been taken to favour the English commerce. This edict is exceedingly advantageous to the English.”

According to the first paragraph :—

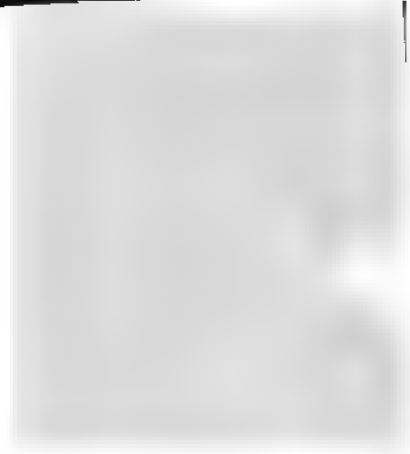
“ The transit on all English goods, as well as those by the river Elbe as those which pass by land carriage through the countries of Magdeburgh and Halberstadt, and their respective places, touch the royal dominions, shall no more be levied at the former high duty of 33 per cent., which was fixed in and has been customary after the year 1752 ; but the said goods, if they go to Saxony, shall, without distinction of the value, pay only a transit of six good groschen per hundred weight of 110 lbs., and only half of this trifling impost, provided it can be proved that the expedition thereof is straightway made into the empire without touching the Upper Saxony countries. As to the transit on the Silesian side of Poland, it remains on its former footing of 8 per cent. with regard to all other except English merchants, who for their proper goods shall only pay the moiety.





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"In the Marquisates and in Pomerania the old regulations retain their former force, since through these Provinces no English expeditions are, nor properly can be made.

"The most English trade, on the contrary, being carried on to Poland, via Dantzic, and by means of the Vistula; his Majesty commands in the strongest and most expressive manner that all the English goods thus seaward imported into Poland, of whatever kind or quality they may be (tobacco only and salt excepted), shall pay no transit duty at all, nor be cumbered with any new impost, but that which was ordered in the Polish times.

"In all Westphalian Provinces, not the least transit shall be required for English goods, although commercial views and other reasons may give inducement to subject other goods to pay the same."

According to the second paragraph:—

"The English subjects, respecting the duties for their national goods, shall not be treated severer in the least than the royal subjects themselves; and those English exporters, from whom our tobacco administration here takes the considerable quantities of Virginia and Maryland tobacco, shall not pay the least duty. His Majesty, on the contrary, reserves it to himself to make the Dutch, Hamburg, and other merchants liable to the payment of the duty, if they, as proprietors, deliver the like tobacco as he, according to circumstances, shall see fit.

"Respecting such English goods as are imported for home consumption according to the third paragraph, no more shall be asked for consumables, in any of all the royal Provinces, of the English proprietors, factors, and *spediteurs*, than what is demanded of those of the royal subjects who enjoy the most preferable privileges. In like manner, the raw English productions shall be proceeded with, and tobacco and salt sold to the royal companies pay no excise at all. But his Majesty makes the proviso that this, for circumstances that may occur, cannot be extended to the Dutch and Hamburg deliveries. With regard to the manufactures, no highe excise nor impost shall be demanded of Englishmen for ironware, wrought pewter, and lead, as likewise for linens and table-cloths, manufactured in England, than that which the royal home merchants are obliged to pay themselves, according to the different tariffs.

"But woollen, cotton, and silk stuffs, ready leather-ware, and manufactures of all other metals, and galloons, may be imported into the royal east and west Prussian Provinces, in such quantities as the Prussian merchants themselves, there, have been permitted to import, and they remain at liberty to calculate them accordingly, and to import them amongst those. In the Provinces of the Oder

and Elbe, the old regulations remain as before. In all the Westphalian countries, on the contrary, the importation of these English manufactures, like all other English national goods, without any payment, is exempt from excise."

We now return to the pamphlet written by Mr. Pownal. He states—

"The end proposed by our system is, that the British manufacturer shall not only have the pre-emption, but the monopoly also, of all the wool grown in the British isles, and that the foreign manufacturer, totally deprived of British wool, shall not be able to make a marketable fabric, as this sort of wool, absolutely necessary for such fabric, is not to be gotten elsewhere. First, it is not true that British wool is necessary to the forming a marketable fabric; secondly, it is true, and a fact open as day, that wool equal to any marketable fabric, is to be had from almost every country in Europe. But if this last proposition was not true, and the first, on the contrary, was true, the proposition by law does not effect any prevention of British wool being sent abroad, in quantities equal to the demand of the foreign market. On the contrary, the proposition operates as a bounty of nearly 60 per cent. in encouraging the exportation; and, whilst it does so, all the contrivances of law and all the terrors of punishment will never 'hedge in the cuckoo.' Hath it ever so done? 'Well,' but say the promoters of this system of monopoly, 'it lowers the price of the raw material.' I answer, so indeed it doth, and lowers it so much below the scale of the general market, that that operation is the very thing that gives the bounty on exportation. The monopolizing stapler and the smuggling merchant profit of this; but the manufacturer, on one hand, is no ways benefited by it, and the landed man and his tenant, on the other hand, are oppressed by it. This system not only operates to the sending abroad great quantities of British wool, but becomes the means of the foreign manufacturer having what he wants in the most beneficial way; for after the wool is stapled, it and that sort which the foreign market wants, is separated from that sort, the purchase of which would be a burthen and disadvantage to the foreign manufacturer abroad: that only which he wants goes to him, without that burthen and disadvantage to the manufac-

turer abroad, in the very way which is most profitably calculated to rival our manufacturer at home."

This being the object of Mr. Pownal's work, he goes on to argue upon it, bringing forward the arguments used by Smith and others in favour of the exportation of wool.

Great excitement prevailed in the years 1780 and 1781, in consequence of the active measures taken by the landed interest to obtain the repeal of the law prohibiting the exportation of British wool.

After a meeting of the wool growers in Lincolnshire, the following letter appeared in the *London Courant* :—

"DEAR SIR,—Together with this be pleased, without loss of time, to return the inclosed, by whose contents it seems the country gentlemen are at last brought to their senses. To one perhaps they may the sense of feeling the effects of those unadvised measures which from the single motive of saving a shilling in the pound land tax, they have unfortunately countenanced and promoted. It is but just that they should have the full share of the calamity which they, the leading powers of this country, have brought upon it. Should they even be reduced to the necessity of contributing the fourteen shillings in the pound land-tax, as was once suggested from their own quarter, towards prosecuting the American war, they will have no right to complain of oppression; they will have none to reproach but themselves.

"Those who advise the exportation of raw wool, may expect that a petition to Parliament, for such a remedy, will be rejected with indignation, probably a mark of censure set on such petitioners, who for a local, temporary, perhaps imaginary relief to themselves, would sacrifice to the enemy at the hottest crisis of the war, the chief of those few resources yet remaining to this country, nothing less than the whole woollen manufacture, that ancient, that fundamental support of Great Britain. But there is sufficient knowledge, deliberation, and conduct to be found in Lincolnshire, as may defeat such a blind, rash, and ruinous attempt, and reserve that most respectable county from the odium of the three kingdoms.

"I am, Dear Sir,

"October 17, 1781.

"R. GLOVER."

The following advertisement was inserted in the newspapers a few days after the above letter appeared :—

"EXPORTATION OF WOOL, LINCOLNSHIRE.

"At a general meeting of the noblemen, gentlemen, yeo-

manry, land owners, and land holders of this county, and of divers persons delegated by their respective parishes, held at the Castle of Lincoln by adjournment from the White Hart Inn, in the bail of Lincoln, the 31st October, 1781, (pursuant to public advertisement,) for taking into consideration the present low price of wool, and the great distresses in the county in consequence thereof;—

“His Grace the Duke of Ancaster in the chair. Upon the question being put from the chair, to the occupiers of land at this meeting, whether their wool is at this time unsold and unsaleable, at the home market? they answered universally in the affirmative.

“A petition from the several occupiers of land, at a meeting held at Thetford, in this county, October 26th, 1781, stating their grievances, and praying relief, was read.

“The delegations of several parishes in this county, to the number of eighty-one, appointing certain persons to appear for them respectively at this meeting, was received.

“Unanimously resolved:—

“That a Committee be appointed, to consist of the Peers of the Realm, owners of land in this county, the members of the county, the members representing the city and boroughs of the county, together with such other gentlemen as choose to attend, to meet and consult what immediate relief can be given to the present distress, and what remedy it may be proper to seek, to amend the general state of our wool trade for the future.

“That the Committee be instructed to consider how far an immediate relief can be given to the present distress, by having permission, under the regulations of a temporary law, to export to the foreign market that surplus of our wool which is now unsold and unsaleable at the home market, and how far it may be expedient to pursue the same.

“That they consider how far it may be expedient or otherwise, to apply to Parliament for a repeal or amendment of the Act of Parliament, which permits the importation of Irish woollen yarn, and how far it may be expedient or otherwise, to apply to Parliament for leave to export, ——— months after the clipping, that surplus of wool which remains on hand, and cannot be sold at the home market at higher prices than ——— shillings per tod.

“That they be further instructed to consult, correspond, and co-operate with such other committees or bodies of men as may be appointed in other counties, upon the same matters, as also with

such manufacturers, and others, who can give them information, touching this business.

"That the thanks, &c. &c. &c."

In pursuance of the resolution above contained, the Committee met, and adjourned to the second Wednesday after the Christmas recess, and appointed the St. Alban's Tavern, London, as the place of their meeting.

Meetings were held in the manufacturing districts, to counteract the proceedings of the wool growers.

December 1st, 1781.

At a meeting of the merchants of Leeds and the neighbourhood, to consider and advise in what manner it may be proper to oppose an intended application to Parliament from the county of Lincoln, for leave to export wool to foreign markets,—

"Resolved, That meetings of the merchants in woollens, and of the woollen manufacturers of Yorkshire, be held at the Moot Hall, in Leeds, on Wednesday the 19th day of December instant, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, to take into consideration the proceedings of the wool growers in the county of Lincoln, and other parts, for the purpose of obtaining powers to export the wool of this kingdom, and to prohibit the importation of Irish yarn.

"Wm. SMITHSON, Chairman."

In consequence of that advertisement, a public meeting was held at Leeds, on the 19th of December, 1781, at which the following was the report :—

"At a general meeting of the merchants in woollens, and of the woollen manufacturers of Yorkshire, pursuant to public advertisement, to take into consideration the proceedings of the wool growers in the county of Lincoln, and other parts, for the purpose of obtaining powers to export the wool of this kingdom, and to prohibit the importation of Irish yarn, William Smithson, Esquire, in the chair :

"The resolutions of the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, held at Lincoln, on the 3rd October last, being read, resolved unanimously,—

"1. That the exportation of any sort of wool, the produce of his kingdom, would be injurious to the trade and manufactures hereof, and any steps towards obtaining a law for that purpose ought to be strenuously opposed.

"2. That any application for a repeal of the Act of Parliament which permits the importation of Irish woollen yarn into this kingdom, ought also to be opposed.

"3. That the merchants in woollens unite in one body, and the manufacturers of woollens in another, to oppose every attempt to procure laws for that purpose.

"4. That it is the opinion of this meeting that the landed interest of the kingdom would be materially prejudiced by a law being passed, giving leave to export wool, and prohibiting the importation of Irish yarn.

"5. That on the adjournment of this meeting, a committee of the merchants be appointed, who, in conjunction with the committee of woollen manufacturers, are requested to open a correspondence with the other merchants and manufacturers of this kingdom, requesting their concurrence and assistance in opposing any attempt to obtain a law for leave to export wool, or prohibiting the importation of Irish woollen yarn into this kingdom.

"6. That the landed interest be applied to for their assistance and support, in such manner as to the committee may seem most advisable.

"That this meeting be adjourned, subject to the joint call of the committee.

"Any person, or bodies of men, desirous of corresponding with the above committee, are requested to direct their letters to Mr. James Bolland, clerk to the committee of merchants, at Leeds; or to Mr. Hebden, clerk to the committee of manufacturers."

The following public meetings were afterwards held:—

Dec. 29th, 1781.—The merchants and manufacturers of the town and neighbourhood of *Halifax* resolved, "That the exportation of wool will be ruinous to the trade and manufactures."

January 4th, 1782.—The merchants and woollen manufacturers of *Exeter* resolved—

"To oppose any steps taken towards obtaining a law for the purpose of exporting any sort of wool, the produce of this kingdom.

"That in case such a law was permitted, the manufacturers would be obliged to leave the kingdom for want of employment, which would infallibly occasion a rapid decline in the value of land."

January 14th.—The merchants and manufacturers of the neighbourhood of *Rochdale* resolved—

CONCERNING THE EXPORTATION OF WOOL

"That any attempt to change the several laws now for restricting the exportation of wool, ought to meet a cited opposition, both from the landed and commercial interests of this kingdom."

January 18th.—The merchants and woollen manufacturers of *Essex* resolved—

"That it is their opinion that foreigners, by a supply of wool, would be enabled, by mixing it with their own, to ruin manufactures of this country, both in quality and cheapness."

"That the low price of Lincolnshire wool is owing,—

"1. To the increased produce of wool in that county.

"2. To the lessened demand for such wool, in consequence of the check given by the war to those branches of manufacture in which it is used.

"That the allowance of the exportation of wool of any kind, in any circumstances, and under whatever limitations, will be in the highest degree prejudicial to the woollen manufacturer.

"That they will resist, and oppose to the utmost of their power, any attempt that may be made to repeal the laws now in force to prevent the exportation of wool."

January 22nd.—The several branches of manufactures at *Norwich* resolved—

"That the exportation of any sort of wool, the produce of this kingdom, would be injurious to the trade and manufactures thereof, and ought to be strenuously opposed.

"That the landed interests of this kingdom would be materially prejudiced by the passing of such a law, because the workpeople, being unemployed, must emigrate to other countries, or fall on the land for maintenance."

January 28th, 1782.—At a meeting of the merchants in woollens, and the woollen manufacturers, deputed from different parts of the kingdom, held at the King's Arms Tavern, London, the advertisement from the general meeting at Lincoln being read, it was resolved to oppose those alarming measures.

January 30th.—The committee of landowners of the county of Lincoln met, by adjournment, at the St. Alban's Tavern, London.

January 31st.—The merchants in woollens, and the woollen manufacturers, met, by adjournment, at the King's Arms Tavern. Upon considering the complaints of the wool growers, and the great importance of the woollen trade of this

kingdom, it was resolved unanimously,—“ That permitting the exportation of wool would be highly injurious to this country, and that any applications to Parliament for that purpose ought to be strenuously opposed.”

February 1st.—The woolstaplers, yarn makers, and manufacturers of wool in the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, and Hertford, assembled at Potton, resolved—

“ That it would be highly injurious, not only to the woollen manufactures, but to the kingdom at large, to allow of any exportation of any kind of wool, the produce of this kingdom. That upon regaining our foreign trade by a peace, and the graziers growing their wool lighter and finer, the price would rise considerably in a short time.”

February 2nd.—At a general meeting of the landowners, manufacturers, and persons concerned in wool and the woollen manufacture, held at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's Street, to consider the state of wool and the woollen manufacture, and what measures may be most expedient for the improvement thereof, pursuant to public advertisement in the London newspapers, agreed to be published at the meeting held by adjournment of the committee of Lincoln, at St. Alban's Tavern, the 30th ult. : Upon a motion being made—“ That it is the opinion of this meeting that the exportation of British raw wool will be prejudicial to the landed and commercial interests of this kingdom,” the Lincolnshire gentlemen in general withdrew, and there remained in the room one hundred and ten gentlemen, amongst whom were many Members of Parliament ; whereupon the question being put, it was unanimously resolved in the affirmative.

February 5th.—At a meeting of the committee of landowners of the county of Lincoln, resolved—“ That the resolution of the general meeting held at the Thatched House Tavern, on the 2nd February, does not appear to this committee to apply to the question on the expediency or in expediency of exporting long or coarse wool, under certain restrictions, for a limited time, as that resolution speaks of a general exportation only.”

February 6th.—King's Arms Tavern.—An advertisement from the St. Alban's Tavern having appeared in the *Morning Herald* of this day, stating that the motion put and unani-

mously agreed to at the general meeting at the Thatched House Tavern on Saturday last, did not apply to the question on the expediency or in expediency of exporting long or coarse wool, under certain restrictions, and for a limited time; the public are desired to take notice, that the arguments on the debate applied strictly both to a general and partial exportation, and both would have been positively expressed in the motion, but from the obvious idea, that a partial exportation was, to the degree it might extend, equally injurious.

Feb. 6th.—The Lincolnshire wool committee resolved—

“That it does appear to them expedient to petition Parliament for redress to the growers of long or coarse wool, aggrieved by the present low price thereof.

“That a liberty to export long or coarse wool, under certain restrictions, appears to be the only probable and adequate means of relief.

“That the intended application to Parliament be postponed until it be known whether the growers of long combing, or coarse wool, in other counties, be willing to co-operate with the county of Lincoln in the prosecution of the above plan.”

February 20th.—The delegates appointed by the woollen manufacturers to meet the delegates from other manufacturing places in this kingdom, in London, laid before this meeting the progress of the opposition to the intended application of the Lincolnshire wool growers to Parliament, which is highly satisfactory.

March 8th.—At a general meeting held at the conclusion of the Assizes at Lincoln, it was resolved—

“That the petition sent down by the Committee in London, appears to state the grievances of the country in a true light, and to ask the only relief that promises to be adequate: it is unanimously resolved that a copy of the said petition be signed forthwith, and sent to the said Committee, with a request that they will make such use of it as they shall think proper.”

The prayer of the above petition is—

“That leave may be given to bring in a bill for permitting an exportation of long and coarse wool, at such period after the usual time of clipping, with such duty and such restrictions as Parliament shall think proper.”

March 9th.—The High Sheriff and Grand Jury, at the Assizes held for the County of York, having taken into

consideration, and maturely weighed the consequences which, in their judgment, would follow from a permission to export wool out of the kingdom, unanimously resolve—

“That it appears to them that to permit the exportation of wool would be highly detrimental and injurious to this country, and tend to promote the interests of our rivals and enemies, in opposition to the most valuable commerce of our fellow-subjects. That it becomes the inhabitants of this county, and all other manufacturing places, by every legal method, to oppose any application to Parliament for a purpose so alarming and injurious.”

March 11th.—The High Sheriff and gentlemen of the Grand Jury assembled at Huntingdon, resolved (many letters from several wool committees having been addressed to the High Sheriff respecting the exportation of wool)—

“That it is the opinion of this meeting that the exportation of the raw material, under any restriction or limitation whatsoever, would be detrimental to the interests of this country in general, and this county in particular.”

“In order to understand this question, and to account for the importance which manufacturers attached to the long wool grown in Lincolnshire, and other districts of rich soil and fens, it may be desirable to give some account of those wools, and the purpose to which they were applied. The worsted manufacture depended upon that long wool, which, on account of the length and strength of the staple, was alone adapted for it, forming a smooth level even yarn, little liable to shrink, curl, or felt in weaving and finishing the stuffs. Owing to the length of the staple, the process of combing is better adapted to stretch out the fibres in parallel lines than that of carding.

“The long wool is first washed with soap and water, and when properly dried, is transferred to a machine called a plucker. A boy lays the tresses of the wool pretty evenly upon the feed apron, or a moving web of canvas, which, as it advances, delivers the ends of the long tufts to a pair of fluted rollers, whence it is introduced into a fanning apparatus. The filaments are turned out at the opposite end of this winnowing machine, straightened, cleaned, and ready for combing.

“According to the old practice of the trade, and which prevailed at this period, three implements were used :—

SOME ACCOUNT OF LONG WOOL AND ITS

- " 1. A pair of combs for each person.
- " 2. A post to which one of the combs can be
- " 3. A comb-pot, or small stove, for heating the

combs.

" Each comb is composed of either two or three pointed, tapering, steel teeth, disposed in two or three planes, each row being a little longer than the previous. They are made fast at the roots to a wooden stock or handle which is covered with horn, and has a handle fixed to it at right angles to the lines of teeth. The first combing, when the fibres are most entangled, is performed with the two-row-toothed combs; the second, or finishing combing, with three-row-toothed.

" In combing the wool, the workman takes it up in tresses about four ounces each, sprinkles the wool with oil, and is about in his hands, to render all the filaments unctuous. He next attaches a heated comb to the post, with its teeth pointing upwards, seizes one half of the tress of wool in his hands, throws it over the teeth, then draws it through them repeatedly, leaving a few straight filaments each time upon the comb. When the comb has in this way collected all the wool, it is placed, with its point inserted into the cell of the stove, with the wool hanging down outside, exposed to the influence of the heat. The other comb, just removed in a heated state from the stove, is planted upon the post, and furnished in its turn with the remaining two ounce tress of wool, after which it supplants the preceding at the stove. Having both combs now hot, the man holds one of them with his left hand over his knee, being seated on a low stool, and, seizing the other with his right hand, he combs the wool upon the first, by introducing the teeth of one comb into the wool stuck in the other, drawing through it; and this is skilfully repeated till the fibres are laid parallel, like a flat tress of hair. It is proper to begin by combing the tops of the tresses, and to advance progressively from the one end towards the other, till at length the combs are worked with their teeth as closely together as possible, without bringing them into collision; if the workman proceeded otherwise, he would be apt to rupture the filaments, or tear their ends entirely out of one of the combs. The flocks left at the end

of the process, because they are too short for the comber to grasp them in his hands, are called *noyls*; they are unfit for the worsted spinner, and are sold to baize and coarse cloth manufacturers. The wool finally drawn off from the comb, though it may form a uniform tress of straight filaments, must yet be combed again at a somewhat lower temperature, to prepare it perfectly for the spinning from ten to twelve slivers (as the wool thus combed is called): these are then arranged in one parcel; they are then applied to the roving frame, and undergo the same process in spinning as cotton. It will be evident that wool is not fit for combing, except it be of long staple, and that description of wool was considered almost peculiar to England; and one pack would enable the manufacturers of France and Flanders to work up eight or ten packs of their wool. It was supposed to be the interest of the British manufacturer to prevent the exportation, while the very high price which the wool would command abroad made it the interest of the wool grower to sell it to foreigners; and this became the more desirable for them, in consequence of the depressed state of the worsted trade, and the very low price of low wool.”*

From the great excitement which then prevailed, as well amongst the agriculturists as the manufacturers, it may be well supposed that the press would not be idle. The following pamphlets made their appearance:—

“THE QUESTION CONSIDERED, whether Wool should be
 “allowed to be exported, when the Price is low at home,
 “on paying a Duty to the Public? By Sir JOHN DAL-
 “RYMPLE, Bart. 1782.”

He commenced—“If men will think with clearness, and reason with fairness, there are few political questions of more easy discussion than this one. A question may be determined, with a tolerable certainty of political prudence, when there are first principles, on which the reasoners on both sides can hardly disagree, and facts capable of proof, if they should differ about them.

“I presume few people will dispute the truth of the following propositions:—

“1. That the exportation of raw materials is a gain to the

DALRYMPLE ON THE EXPORTATION OF W

country, in proportion to the quantity of industry employed in producing them, of the shipping employed in exporting them, and of the value got for them in return.

"2. That it is more advantageous to a country to work up its own materials into manufactures, to be consumed at home or exported abroad, than to export them to foreign countries for the use of their manufacturers; and consequently that a wise nation may prohibit the exportation of its raw materials to the extent of its ability to work them up at home to advantage.

"3. But if from any circumstances, either of war or peace, a country cannot at a particular period find a vent for the manufacture as it used to do, then a continuance of the prohibition to export the raw material seems impolitic; because, if the raw material which cannot be manufactured at home be not allowed to be exported abroad, it must be left to perish. But this prohibition will be doubly impolitic, if the raw material left to perish be of a nature to have cost much money in producing, and be of so great a value, that the profit of the farmer, and the rent-roll of the landlord depend upon it, and consequently the revenue of the state and the industry of the people, both of which are intimately connected with the greater or less money in the hands of the farmer or landlord.

"4. If any doubt should arise whether there be such a redundancy of the raw material as disables the manufacturer to make it up, with a good prospect of a market, then the infallible test to find out the truth, is to inquire into the state of the price of the raw material. When there is a redundancy, the price will be low; when there is not, it will be high. This, the barometer of price, will easily and infallibly point out when the raw material should, and when it should not, be allowed to be exported.

"5. If a nation should think of submitting to prohibit the exportation of a raw material lest it should serve the manufacturer of another country; that is to say, should inflict a certain evil upon itself, from the hope of inflicting a very uncertain evil upon its neighbours, it ought to be very sure that its neighbours cannot be supplied with the raw material elsewhere, either within themselves or from others.

"6. If the raw material prohibited to be exported be in great request with other nations, it will be smuggled abroad. If the experience of ages has proved that this cannot be prevented, with respect to wool at least, it seems, at the first blush of the proposal, more wise to permit it to be exported on paying a duty to the state, than to be making daily and vain complaints that it is exported without paying any. But whether that first impression ought or ought not to be indulged, will deserve the consideration

of every landed and every commercial man in the kingdom, of the meanest beggar as well as the King and Parliament."

"If these propositions be true, the following reasons are submitted to the public, on which Parliament should allow wool to be exported from Great Britain, when the price is low, on paying a duty to the public :—

"Reason 1.—The redundancy of wool is at present so great in Britain, that it is sunk in price, in many places 50 per cent., and in few places less than 30 per cent.

"2. Exportation would encourage the growth of fine wool, upon which the duty would least press, and the English fleece would regain its high character, in the same way that the exportation of wool from Spain, under duty on weight, has brought Spanish wool to such perfection.

"3. The prohibition to export wool confines the wool growers to one market, sinks the price, and encourages smuggling.

"4. The wool will be exported to the profit of the landowner, and to the profit of the state.

"5. If it be imprudent to supply our enemies with a raw material for their manufacture, it seems more imprudent to supply them with food, the first principle of all manufactures, at a lower price than we eat it ourselves: it seems strange that a duty should be refused to be accepted on the exportation of the one, when a bounty is not scrupled to be bestowed on the exportation of the other," (a bounty being then allowed on the exportation of corn).

"The manufacturing interest will not be hurt, but will be greatly benefited by the proposal. It will not hurt it, because the moment the price rises beyond a just medium, the exportations will be stopped. It will be greatly benefited, because wool, by the double market, will be kept constantly at an equal rate in its price, instead of starting sometimes too high and sometimes too low, as it does now,—variations which disturb the manufacturer in his projects and exertions."

Several objections are then assumed and answered, viz.,—

"Objection.—A permission to export wool would raise the price of wool too high, and consequently would hurt the manufacturing to serve the landed interest.

"Answer.—Serving the landed is serving the manufacturing interest. Dr. King and Dr. Davenant computed, at the close of the last century, that the domestic consumption of woollen manufactures was in the proportion of four to

one of the foreign consumption, and at present the consumption must be far greater. It was a saying of the wisest minister England ever had, the great Lord Burleigh, that a fall of one shilling in a stone of wool was the loss of a million sterling to England. The average price of wool in France is seventeen pence per lb., the price of Spanish wool in Holland is not much lower, whereas the price of English wool is not above ninepence per lb., consequently Parliament may lay a large duty on exportation, without any risk of stopping the demand."

Sir John Dalrymple makes no allowance for difference in qualities, but assumes the long and coarse wools of England to be equal in price to the fine wools of Spain and France.

This pamphlet by Sir John Dalrymple produced the following replies and works.

"CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE WOOL
"TRADE, the Laws made concerning that Article, and
"how far the same are consistent with true Policy and
"the Interest of the State; by a GENTLEMAN RESIDENT
"ON HIS ESTATE IN LINCOLNSHIRE. 1782."

"From the history of wool, taken from the statutes, there appears to have been a constant exportation of wool to the time of the Restoration; and it appears further, that in peaceable times, under very wise administrations during that period, trade and commerce flourished to a degree proportionate to the times, equal to what it has done since, and particularly the woollen manufacture, which arose during the time that exportation of wool was allowed, and in some of those periods flourished greatly, and the export thereof was considerable, which may plainly show there was no necessity to prohibit the exportation of wool for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture.

"Soon after the restoration of Charles II., the decay of trade and manufacture was visible, and easily to be accounted for from the confusion of the preceding times; but the cunning of the manufacturers, desirous of obtaining a monopoly of the raw material, and the policy of the government not choosing to advert to times past and the true cause, concurred in

fixing the attention upon the exportation of wool as the cause of the decay of trade and the woollen manufacture. The flourishing state of the manufacture soon after that period has induced many to think it entirely owing to the same prohibitory law, without considering that the restoration of peace and harmony would of itself cause trade and commerce to thrive; and had there been no prohibition, the effect would have been the same; for during the period of the preceding anarchy and confusion, sobriety and order were much inculcated into the lower ranks of the people, and that enthusiasm which most contributed to overthrow one Government, and seemed so ill adapted for supporting another, was not ill suited for industry and trade, since future times have shown us that the like spirit prevails much amongst the manufacturers of the present day; and nothing is more certain than that when the manufacturers flourish, the prohibitory laws are nugatory, since, as long as the manufacturers can work up the quantity produced, so long will they be enabled to give a fair price for the raw material, and that alone would sufficiently prevent any exportation of the same, without any laws of prohibition or restraint.

“ It has been said that the laws for prohibiting the exportation of a raw material are consonant to the policy of all nations, upon the principle that by such prohibition a monopoly may be obtained for the manufacture in foreign parts. I believe it will be found, upon inquiry, that England is singular in this policy; if so, there may be room to doubt the wisdom of the measure. The kingdom of Sardinia has been peculiarly fortunate in a succession of three wise monarchs; and therefore from thence may be supposed an example worthy imitation: that country, with few resources, makes the most of what it has, and thereby may afford a pattern to other nations, who, though they may have greater resources, yet their demand being proportionably greater, require more care in the cultivation and improvement of such resources. It appears, then, upon inquiry, that Sardinia is in possession of raw silk, from which a valuable manufacture was established in that country. In process of time, other countries being desirous of raising a manufacture of the same sort, the wise monarch of that day made a law prohibiting the

BY A LINCOLNSHIRE GENTLEMAN.

exportation of said raw material, conceiving that he would be able to preserve a monopoly of the manufacture in his own country; but when he found that such material was to be got elsewhere, he immediately opened his ports for exportation thereof, with a due preference to his own country by which he insured to the manufacturers a certainty of the home trade, an advantage in foreign markets, and a considerable emolument to his government from such exportation. Here should seem a precedent, the result of true wisdom and sound policy, well worthy our most attentive consideration.

"It is an indisputable fact that no manufacture can be beneficial to a State, which stands in need of a monopoly of the produce of the land, or any part of that State for support. The woollen manufacture of England neither now nor ever did stand in such need: it is a false ground to ascribe the flourishing condition of that manufacture to the prohibitory laws with respect to the exportation of wool. Whenever the trade is flourishing, the manufacturer is able to give an adequate price for his material, and thus the prohibitory law becomes nugatory: since, then, there is a market at home for a commodity, there is no fear of a foreign market being sought for.*

"The greatest encouragement to the exportation of wool, even supposing the same was detrimental to the manufacturer, is the very low price thereof, which encourages and enables the illicit trader to run the hazard, as the low price in the purchase, and the high price in the sale, will always give vigour to an illicit trade; and therefore it is that a fair and adequate price of wool is most advantageous to the manufacturer, as insuring to him a certainty of a sufficient supply of the material, and a discouragement to the illicit trader, by whom our rivals in trade are supplied at a much cheaper rate than they would be by an exportation allowed under due regulation and restriction. The real interest of the manu-

* This appears particularly to have been the case by an account published by a Mr. Wheeler, temp. Eliz., who says "That so early as the time of Philip and Mary, the cloth trade was grown to be very great in England, insomuch that the trade of exporting wool was almost wholly decayed." This shows a far better method of checking the exportation of wool than prohibiting it absolutely by penal laws.

facturer and wool grower can be but one, since the flourishing state of the one must be always beneficial to the other.

“ Wool is now in general circulation as an article of trade all over Europe, and this is the only country which attempts to retain all such material within itself. The woollen manufacturer of England requires Spanish wool for making the superfine cloths, and yet with the additional charge on importation of raw material, our workmen can rival all nations in foreign markets. Whilst the Government allows such importation for the benefit of the manufacturers, it denies the grower of wool liberty of sending abroad what the manufacturer cannot use at home. Upon this allowed importation of Spanish wool, other sorts might be supposed to be fraudulently imported to the further injury of the grower; but the price of that article in the different countries sufficiently defeats the idea of such fraud. The reason would operate in like manner if the ports were open for the exportation of wool. Whilst the manufacturer can use the quantity produced, he will be inclined to give a fair price for the same, and that alone would prevent exportation; but whilst there is a greater quantity grown than can be worked up, the manufacturer will take advantage of the glut in the market, confined to him alone, and by lowering the price, give encouragement to the illicit trader equally detrimental to both.

“ Compared with the policy of other countries, the conduct of this kingdom is singular in this instance. Many countries produce a material from whence a manufacture arises; but the utmost restraint they lay upon such produce, is some little preference for the home market, by laying small duties, or other restraints similar thereto, by which they insure to the manufacturer the home trade, and give him some advantage in a foreign market: more than this is not to be desired, nor is it the interest of any State to prevent or obstruct rivalry in trade, though it is the aim and desire of every trader. That is the natural spur to industry, and daily experience shows us that manufactures may flourish in this kingdom without any possession of the raw material; nay, though they fetch the same from a great distance, at a considerable charge and expense, yet the ingenuity of the English workman, and the credit and enterprise of the British merchant, put them

BY A LINCOLNSHIRE GENTLEMAN.

at least upon an equal footing with other traders, and enable them to find out a sale for their commodities in all markets. This, amongst other things, shows that there is no necessity to establish a monopoly against the grower, for the benefit of the manufacturer, the advantage of which monopoly arises more from the loss of part of our countrymen, than from that of the foreign manufacturer; and the prohibiting law, contrary to its original intent of operating against foreigners, has a destructive effect on the property of a considerable body of men in this kingdom; it gives the manufacturer the opportunity of fixing the price, and the grower is compelled to take it."

"THE PROPRIETY OF ALLOWING A QUALIFIED EXPORTATION OF WOOL, DISCUSSED HISTORICALLY. To which is added an Appendix, containing a Table, which shows the value of the Woollen Goods of every kind that were entered for Exportation at the Custom House from 1697 to 1780 inclusive, as well as the Prices of Wool in England during that period."

MOTTO.

"Freedom of trade is the life of trade, and monopolies and restrictions on trade do overthrow trade."—*Lord Coke's speech in 1621.*

"Mr. Arthur Young calculates, on good ground, the number of sheep in England to be 25,589,214, which yield an annual profit of 10s. 6d. each, or £13,860,824."—*Pol. Arithm., part 2, page 28.*

The writer of the above proposes to permit the exportation of British wool when its average price, in certain specified markets, was 16s. 8d. per tod, or under, on paying the old denizen duty of £1 13s. 4d. per sack of 364 lbs., or, in other words, 2s. 3½d. per tod of 28 lbs.

The writer commences with a brief history of sheep and wool. The following detail shows the progress of the number of sheep, and the amount of their fleeces:—

In 1698, Gregory King calculated we had in England 12,000,000 sheep.

Of wool yearly shorn, at 3s. 4d. per fleece, £2,000,000.

In 1741, the Gentleman's Magazine, by an accurate detail, showed that there were annually shorn in England 16,000,000

224 THE QUALIFIED EXPORTATION OF WOOL,

Wool produced, at 3 lbs per fleece .. 311,999 sacks.

In Scotland..... 77,999 sacks.

In Britain 389,998 sacks.

which confirms Mr. Webb's account.

In 1774, Arthur Young found in England, upon examining the folds of the shepherds, 25,589,754 sheep.

Wool produced, at 5 lbs per fleece... 581,585 sacks.

One-fourth Scotland..... 145,396 sacks.

In Britain 726,981=104,685,164lbs.

“In 1739, Sam Webber, in his ‘Short Account of the Woollen Trade,’ asserted that of 800,000 packs produced yearly in Great Britain and Ireland, France got 500,000 packs.

“The foregoing documents have shown, what the entries at the Custom-house demonstrate, that in respect to British manufactures, demand and supply have kept pace with each other, in the progress during eighty years to unexampled greatness. If we look to the cause, we shall find it in the augmented number and opulence of mankind. That Sweden has doubled her inhabitants since the happy death of Charles XII., has been clearly established by the ennobled historian of that kingdom. Russia has added provinces and kingdoms to her empire. Dr. Price has asserted that France, Naples, and other European nations have become much more populous during the present century, and Dean Tucker has exhausted the vivacity of his wit, and the strength of his reason, to prove that the richer are the communities of the earth, the better customers they are to each industrious people. We may thence justly infer that the demand for the wool, as well as for the manufactures of Great Britain, must increase nearly in the proportion to the augmentation of the industry and wealth of the world; and, while the quantity of wool, which has from time to time been resigned to the moths of the warehouse, is daily lessened by the request of universal markets, that its export must continue, and even rise in its amount, till foreign fairs are saturated.

“Every proposal which has liberty for its end, surely merits the favour of Englishmen. Let us, therefore, restore the salutary system of our ancestors. Let us pay some

attention to the interests of a respectable body of men, who have seldom regarded as they ought their own rights; and the statesmen who find it difficult, amid the competition of different classes, to discover funds that are altogether free from objection, will not hesitate to accept the annual income.

“ APPENDIX.

“ In order to lay before the public the most satisfactory information with regard to a subject the most interesting to a nation of wool growers, books were not only consulted, but archives were ransacked. The value of the woollen goods exported in every year from 1696 to 1780 inclusive, taken from the Custom-house books, is here inserted, (*vide* table and appendix to second volume) because the detail of official intelligence was so decisive in respect to the gradual rise, the steady progress, and the real importance of the woollen manufacture of England. It was thought proper to add to every year the price of wool, that the public might have so good an opportunity to determine how far was the augmented demand for the raw material, and consequently the value to the raisers of it. The prices from 1696 to 1746 were taken from ‘Smith’s Memoirs of Wool,’ 2nd vol., pages 171 and 176, a book equally remarkable for depth of research and justness of recital. The price from 1745 to 1781 has been ascertained, from the best manuscript documents that could be procured, comparing from five to ten different accounts, with the candid purpose of fixing the nearest medium price. It was in 1778 that the price of long combing wool began to fall, while the short clothing wool rather rose in value.

“ The following are the diminished prices of long combing wool :—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
1778.....	15	0	per tod.	1780.....	11 6
1779.....	12	0	do.	1781.....	9 0

“ REFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENT LOW PRICE OF COARSE
 “ WOOL; its Immediate Causes, and its Probable
 “ Remedies. By JOSIAH TUCKER, D.D., Dean of
 “ Gloucester.”

The Dean attributes the low price of coarse wool to the following causes, and suggests the following remedies :—

“ Causes.— Stoppage of exportation: disuse of woollen manu-

factures; diminution of cottages; increase of the staple itself, by breaking up waste land.

“ *Remedies.*—Export under the duty of one penny per lb., and apply the duty as a bounty on the exportation of coarse woollens and worsteds of our own.

“ Allow a bounty of one penny and a halfpenny per yard to the exporter, for the exportation of coarse woollens and worsteds to the Baltic.

“ Repeal the monopoly granted to the Russian Company.

“ Raise up people to wear your own cloth, by erecting cottages.

“ The properest and most natural method of treating this subject seems to be—

“ 1. To state the facts.

“ 2. To inquire into the cause or causes thereof.

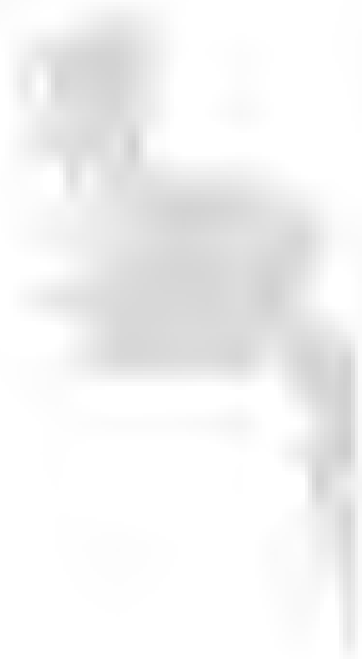
“ 3. To prepare the most probable cures or preventing remedies.

“ 4. To consider the principal difficulties or obstructions against carrying such schemes into execution.

“ *First,—The facts.*

“ Wool is one of those raw materials whose quantity may be increased, and quality improved, by human art and industry, to a considerable degree. That is, the wool grower, by a proper exertion of skill and diligence, may visibly enlarge the breed of his sheep as to size, and increase them as to number; and he may also, by good management, render their wools much finer, and certainly much cleaner and more free from dirt or filth than otherwise they would have been. But whether English wool, by the greatest exertions of art and industry, could be brought to such a degree of fineness and goodness as to equal the first, or even the second sort of Spanish wool, which some authors have taken upon themselves to assert, is a point which I dare not maintain, till confirmed by much stronger evidence than has hitherto appeared. It may be greatly questioned whether Spanish sheep, brought into England and fed in Lincolnshire, would produce the same kind of wool which they produced in Spain. But, be this as it may, certain it is that the coarse wools of England have been sinking in price for some years, till at last they have fallen so low as to give an alarm to all ranks of men.







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“*Secondly,—The cause, or causes.*

“There seem to be the four following, all co-operating together to sink the price of every sort of coarse wool much below the standard to which it ought to be kept.

“1. The stoppage of the exportation of our coarse cloths, &c. to foreign countries.

“2. The prodigious disuse of coarse woollen goods throughout every part of the kingdom.

“3. Those home-customers for coarse wool, on whom we ought absolutely to depend, because they are not in a capacity to wear any other kind of garments, are diminishing in number every day.

“4. Whilst coarse wools are growing into disuse among us, the quantity thereof is considerably increased.

“*First remedy, or mode of cure :—*

“Permission ought to be granted for the exportation of coarse wool under a certain duty, suppose one penny per lb., which, with charges, would amount to 25 per cent. on the price of the raw material, against the foreigner and in favour of the British manufacturer; an addition fully sufficient to ensure the *staple* trade of woollen goods to himself, unless it be his own fault.

“*Second remedy :—*

“That a small bounty of three-halfpence per lb. be granted on the exportation of coarse woollen and worsted goods to ports in the Baltic, similar to what is now paid on the exportation of linens; that return or payment to be received in whatever goods, merchandise, or commodities he may lawfully import, and one-third of the bounty given on exported coarse linens to be withdrawn.

“*Third remedy :—*

“The common and middling people of this country being, for the most part, above the use or wear of our own coarse woollens and worsteds, we must, if we expect any considerable market for home consumption, endeavour to raise up such a generation of men, women, and children as shall be obliged, by their station in life, to be clad in such garments as are made out of coarse wools, and to use such sort of goods for their bedding and furniture.”

The Dean then explains different plans he would suggest

for bringing about his proposed remedies: by clearing waste land and building small cottages, so as to encourage the increase of the lower classes.

“AN ANSWER TO SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE'S PAMPHLET
“UPON THE EXPORTATION OF WOOL, by NATHANIEL
“FORSTER, D. D., Rector of All Souls, Colchester,
“and Chaplain to the Countess Dowager of Northing-
“ton. 1782.”

Dr. Forster follows the course of Sir John Dalrymple.

- “1. By laying down a few general principles, which appear to be incontestible.
- “2. Reasons against the exportation of wool.
- “3. Arguments against his propositions.”

Having given the propositions of Sir John Dalrymple, it will be right to give those of Dr. Forster.

- “1. The prosperity of the *landed* interest in any country depends chiefly, if not solely, upon the prosperity of the *manufacturing* interest, or, in other words, the landed interest cannot flourish where manufactures are in a state of depression and decay.
- “2. Those manufactures are the greatest advantage to the landed interest, which occasion the largest consumption of the produce of the land, those consequently which employ the greatest quantity of labour. To give all possible encouragement therefore to the manufactures which come within this description, will be the truest policy. To adopt any measures that tend to obstruct or depress them, will be the highest degree of political folly.
- “3. To secure an ample supply of the raw material which forms the basis of such manufactures, will be amongst the first objects of public attention; to secure the supply of them at such a price as will enable the manufacturer to carry his exertions, in making them up, to the greatest possible extent.
- “4. It will moreover be the policy of every manufacturing country, and more particularly of the owners of land in such countries, to secure the most extensive markets for its manufactured goods, to secure a foreign as well as a home demand for such goods.

- “5. By the same principles of policy, such manufacturing country will endeavour as much as possible to prevent all foreign nations from rivalling its manufactures in the market, while, on the contrary, to supply foreign manufacturers with the means of such competition would be a measure of the most pernicious tendency.
- “6. Should any particular country, from circumstances of soil, climate, situation, &c. &c., be possessed of the raw material of any valuable manufacture, it will be the policy of such country to preserve, as much as possible, such raw material for its own use. And should it happen that foreigners cannot carry on a rival manufacture, except by a supply of such material from thence, it will, upon the same principle of policy, use every exertion to cut them off from such supply.
- “7. Should foreign countries be possessed of other superior advantages for the carrying on of such manufactures, and want only a supply of the raw materials to give these advantages their full effect, it will be an act of political insanity to afford them such supply.
- “8. Neither the small return from the export of such unwrought material, nor the small addition of revenue from a duty upon such export, can possibly counterbalance the loss of the manufacture itself, nor be made in any degree to compensate the many mischiefs which must arise, as well to the landed as to the commercial interests, from such a loss.”

Upon the ground of these general propositions, Dr. Forster gives the following reasons why the exportation of wool should not be allowed, even though at the lowest price.

“1st Reason.—If exportation of wool were allowed, the price would be at the instance so much raised as to be a severe check upon the manufacture.

“2nd. If exportation of wool will not only check for a time the manufactures in which it is used, but, by enabling foreigners, (the French in particular,) to rival and to undersell us, will drive them from us for ever.”

The objections assumed by Sir John Dalrymple to the repeal of the laws prohibiting the exportation of wool, are

then brought forward and answered ; they are so general and so similar to the objections already stated by other writers, that it appears only necessary to refer to that which draws a comparison betwixt the exportation of wool and the exportation of corn.

“ Objection.—Every argument for the exportation of corn when the price is low, applies equally to the exportation of wool when the price is low.

“ Answer.—This is indeed surprising. For surely no two cases were ever more dissimilar in every circumstance. Corn is, to all purposes of exportation, a manufacture, a finished manufacture : wool, a raw produce. To the raising of corn much labour is required ; to the growing of wool scarce any. The return for corn consequently affords to thousands the means of subsistence, over and above the rent to the landowner and the profit to the farmer. The return for wool amounts to little more than such rent and such profit. By exportation of corn we provide food for other countries at their cost. By the exportation of wool, foreign nations are enabled to provide clothes for themselves and others at our cost. By the exportation of corn we ensure domestic industry, of the most useful kind. By the exportation of wool we destroy the very means of industry. By the exportation of corn we increase its growth for the home consumption, and at the same time (taking into account the regulations for the import trade) diminish its home price upon the whole. By exportation of wool we increase its growth for foreign consumption, with a certainty, nay, with a view of raising its price at home. So pointed is the opposition between these two cases, one of which is here held out to us as a rule for the other.”

The parallel, indeed, between the exportation of corn, and that of a finished manufacture, is sufficiently exact, and the same argument may be applied with equal force to both cases.

At the same period the following issued from the press :—

“ THE CONTRAST, or a Comparison between our Woollen,
“ Linen, and Silk Manufactures, showing the Utility of
“ each, both in a national and commercial point of view,

“ whereby the true Importance of the Fleece, the first
 “ and great Staple of our Trade, will appear evident; the
 “ Effect that must naturally arise from the System we
 “ pursue, and the Consequences we may rationally hope
 “ for, from a contrary Policy ; together with such Facts
 “ and Remarks as may claim the Attention of every
 “ Englishman, who is a Friend to the Freedom and Pros-
 “ perity of this Country. 1782.”

This, as the title shows, contrasts different manufactures, and points out more particularly the opinion of the writer as to the advantage of the woollen and worsted trades, as compared with silk and linen, the raw material of which are foreign, and purchased with English money, while wool is chiefly the growth of our own country. He says—

“ If we consult history, we shall find that our ancestors exported their wool in large quantities to the French, Dutch, and Flemish ; for it appears that in the reign of Edward III, the duty of 50s. per pack amounted to £250,000 annually—an amazing sum near four hundred and fifty years ago, which shows the superior excellence of English wool at that time. Yet, notwithstanding this traffic brought an immense sum into the kingdom, besides adding to the revenue, our forefathers experienced it to be an injurious trade; therefore had recourse to manufactures, whereby they increased the value of the wool tenfold ; for they found that a pound of wool, which they used to sell for sixpence, would now bring them in five shillings ; and this opened their eyes. When they surveyed Europe, and all other countries they knew, and saw no wool equal to their own, they discovered the true importance of the fleece, the gift of an allwise Providence, bestowed with a liberal hand upon this isle. In Spain, indeed, the wool was finer than our own, but less in value, because the fleece was very small, and that from the shortness of the staple it would not comb alone, nor when mixed with other kinds of wool. In France the wool was coarse, and would not comb without a mixture of English wool ; and what was still of more importance, English sheep always degenerated (and always will) when fed on French land, as the wool grew coarser every year, until it only equalled the wool of France — for nature never changes.

“ The size of sheep and cattle will ever be in proportion to the pastures they feed upon : when the fleece is large, the staple must be coarser. Why then blame the grazier for an effect arising from a natural cause ? or why should the inconsiderate farmer look for relief abroad, when by women’s wearing stuff instead of printed goods, it may be had at home ? which was done in former times, when our forefathers wisely grasped the golden fleece, and by penal laws kept it for themselves, folded with care the useful sheep, which yielded food and raiment, the two chief wants of man ; whereby they found employment for men, women, and children, increased in number and strength, in commerce, wealth and power. Let us therefore emulate their example ; let us consider that wool is the natural production of our land ; land we can never lose but with our liberties.

“ The more wool we shall work up, the cheaper we shall have lamb and mutton, and also a plentiful supply of leather ; and our manufactures in wool and worsted goods will always be in proportion to the home consumption and export : for all we consume at home stands to nothing, in a commercial light, except a little oil and a few drugs for dyeing ; and all we export, in like manner, is clear gain.

“ The number of people employed in the woollen and worsted manufactures must be astonishingly great, when we consider that the worsted goods upon an average are worth nearly ten times as much as the first cost of the raw material. In bombazines the labour increases the value of the goods about twenty times. How much, therefore, do our woollen and worsted manufactures surpass either cotton or silk, which we import from foreigners, and pay for in silver and gold !”

The author then gives a comparison with other manufactures, reckoning a profit of twelve-and-a-half per cent. for manufacturing, and allowance of bounty for exportation. Cotton wool was then, he says, 3s. 4d. per lb. ; he estimates the average at 2s. 3d. per lb., or three times as much as sheep’s wool, and the manufactured articles are sold cheaper than woollens.

“ They are sold cheaper for home consumption than woollens or stuffs, in the opinion of the wearers (assisted by fashion) appears evident, because cottons and calicoes have long been

the general wear of women ; but it must be acknowledged folly and fashion have got far the better of reason and sound policy in dress, for men seem to be cotton-mad by wearing coats, waistcoats, breeches, and stockings of cotton (or silk, which is far worse); or they wear what is still more absurd, superfine cloth made of Spanish wool, which pays no duty on importation, nor any freight, being brought in in neutral bottoms, while our wool, which in all respects is fit for Englishmen to wear, lies rotting in our warehouses. The quantity of Spanish wool imported yearly is full fourteen thousand pounds weight, which, at 3s. 7d. per lb., the average price, amounts to £280,993 6s. 8d. sterling. Would not this sum enable us to build three men of war of the line yearly, with our own oak and labour, whereby we should keep our money at home, instead of sending it to Spain, while they prohibit our woollens and stuffs ? and all this is wisely done, notwithstanding they are besieging Gibraltar and Port Mahon. Shame on us all ! Where is our common sense ? As for the ladies, they wear scarcely anything now but cottons, calicoes, muslins, or silks, and think no more of woollen stuffs, than we think of an old almanac ; besides, our furniture now is nearly all cotton, subject to great danger by catching fire, as fatal experience has too lately proved. In short, we have scarcely any woollens now about our beds but blankets, and they would most likely be thrown aside, could we keep our bodies warm without them. When we consider these facts, can we wonder we should have a redundancy of wool ? Can we wonder our people are not employed ? Can we wonder that poverty and distress should stalk amongst us as harbingers of desolation, which forebode the eventful fall of the British Empire ?

“ ‘ Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath hath made ;
But a bold peasantry, their country’s pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.’ ”

“ Those who are lovers of invention, and fond of mechanical improvements, must admire the ingenuity of the cotton mills and the engines lately erected in the neighbourhood of Manchester ; but shall these mills and engines be suffered to destroy our woollen and stuff manufactures ? They will prove

the most fatal discoveries ever made in Old England ; though there is no doubt but those cotton mills may be altered to spin worsted as well as cotton, if stuffs were worn."

The author sums up as follows :—

" From what has been said, there cannot remain a doubt but that the wool of England is far superior for general use to any other wool hitherto discovered ; and we may venture to affirm that, from its quality and quantity, two packs of our wool are more valuable than three packs which any other country produces—(Spanish wool, as before observed, is too short for combing, even if mixed with longer wool ; it is also too fine and high in price for general wear ; besides, the weight of their fleeces is trifling when compared with ours.) The expense of labour bestowed upon wool, whether coarse or fine, if the spinning is the same, will be equal, but the goods made of fine wool will be proportionably better. England, therefore, never need despair of a foreign trade in woollens. To manufacture up our fleeces, and to export our woollen and worsted goods, may enable us to pay off our national debt ; for, let the dispute with America be settled as it may, while their wool continues inferior to ours, they must from interest, the strongest tie of friendship, deal with us : for interest is more binding than any treaty of commerce. The French show true policy in wearing coarse woollens, the production of their own country, with gaudy or rich trimmings, rather than fine kinds of foreign materials ; but we do not copy them in this, *for it is not one of their follies.*

" From our negligence in not stopping the French from smuggling our fine long combing wool, we have enabled them to manufacture woollen stuffs, not only for their own consumption, but also for export, to our great prejudice ; which they could not have done, notwithstanding the cheapness of labour compared with ours, if they had not got our raw materials. Bricks cannot be made without straw. To keep our wool at home, therefore, must be a matter of high importance. How absurd, then, is the idea of expecting it paying an insignificant duty, which would be putting us upon a footing with Esau, who sold his birthright for a mess of pottage !"

“AN ANSWER, addressed to those who have read Sir John Dalrymple’s Pamphlet in support of a Tax and Permission to Export Raw Wools. By A PLAIN MATTER OF FACT MAN. 1782.”

“PLAIN REASONS, addressed to the People of Great Britain, against the intended Petition to Parliament from the Owners and Occupiers of Lands in the County of Lincoln, for leave to Export Wool; with some Remarks on Sir John Dalrymple’s Treatise lately published, in favour of a General Exportation of Wool. 1782.”

“A LETTER to the LANDED GENTLEMEN and GRAZIERs of LINCOLNSHIRE, in which are pointed out the principal Causes of the present Redundancy of Wool, and the Exportation of it proved to be Impolitic and Dangerous, together with the Proposal of a more Safe and Certain Remedy; occasioned by, and interspersed with, Observations upon Sir John Dalrymple’s Question on that subject. By A FRIEND AND NEIGHBOUR. Printed at Cambridge, 1782.” Motto—“Give greater encouragement to the invention and use of machines, by which one man or child may do the work of several.”

“A LETTER ON THE SUBJECT OF WOOL, interspersed with Remarks on Cotton, addressed to the Public at large. By WILLIAM MUGLISTON, a Manufacturer of Hosiery at Alferton. Printed at Nottingham, 1782.”

“AN ENQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND QUALITIES OF ENGLISH WOOL, and the Variations of Breed in Sheep, with Remarks on Dean Tucker’s Pamphlet, by A GENTLEMAN FARMER. 1782.”

“Of all the various breeds of Sheep produced in this kingdom, there are only two in which we are envied by foreigners, on account of the wool they produce. One sort is the sheep of Suffolk, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Devonshire, and particularly Herefordshire, which are all more or less remarkable for the fineness of their fleeces. The other kind is the sheep of Warwickshire and Lincolnshire, which are not at all peculiar in the fineness of their wool, but in the quantity they yield.”

At this time, great excitement prevailed in the manufacturing districts, from the use of spinning machines, invented by Arkwright and others; and in order to stop the violence and outrages committed, the crime of entering houses and workshops, and cutting and destroying woollen, silk, cotton, or linen goods, or any tools or utensils used in spinning, preparing, or weaving such goods, was made felony, without the benefit of the clergy.

At this period, also, the following estimate was published of the annual produce and condition of the principal manufactures of Great Britain:—

£		£	
Woollens.....	16,800,000	Cotton	960,000
Leather	10,500,000	Lead	1,650,000
Flax.....	1,750,000	Tin.....	1,000,000
Hemp	890,000	Iron ...	8,700,000
Glass	630,000	Steel, Plating, &c. ..	3,400,000
Paper	780,000	Smaller Manufactures	5,250,000
Porcelain.....	1,000,000		
Silk	3,350,000	Total.....	£56,660,000

Macpherson, from whose “Annals of Commerce” the above table is taken, says, however, “I give this as I find it, not knowing upon what principles it is founded.”

“CONSIDERATIONS ON THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTORY
“OF IRELAND, addressed to the Duke of Rutland, Lord
“Lieutenant of Ireland.”

The object of this work is principally to point out the inconvenience which arises from making the capital the chief seat of the manufacture, and suggesting that means should be taken to follow the example of England, by encouraging manufactures in different parts of the island.

Upon this subject, also, the following was published:—

“OBSERVATIONS ON THE MANUFACTURES, TRADE, AND
“PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND. BY JOHN LORD
“SHEFFIELD. 1785.”

Under the head of “Woollen Manufactures,” Lord Sheffield has entered at length into an account of the rise and progress of the growth of wool, and the woollen manufacture of Ireland, introducing statistical information of great interest.

His Lordship commences by alluding to the narrow and illiberal policy which had prevailed both in England and Ireland.

"It is curious to observe the illiberal arts, and injudicious exertions of oppression employed by one country to depress and prevent the exportation of the woollen manufactures of the other, and the equally ignorant disposition of Ireland, almost constantly during this century, to impute her poverty and inability of growing rich, to the want of a woollen export trade, which, it is probable, that since the revolution, she barely grew wool enough to clothe her own inhabitants. Some manufactures of wool existed in Ireland previous to the reign of James I., but they were not considerable. They then first made some progress, and in the succeeding reign, although Lord Strafford discouraged them. The civil war which followed, almost annihilated every manufacture in Ireland, and that country, which so abounded with cattle and provisions, was, after Cromwell's *settlement* of it, obliged to import provisions from Wales.

"Sir William Petty states the cattle and stock of Ireland to be worth about four millions in 1641, and that the whole cattle in Ireland was not worth £500,000 in 1652. However, it was sufficiently recovered soon after the Restoration, as to alarm the grazing counties in England; and in the year 1666 the importation of live cattle, sheep, swine, &c. &c., from Ireland, was prohibited."

"The principle of the bill was bad in every respect, but the prohibition proved an excellent law for Ireland. It was represented that the rents of England had fallen one-fifth, through the public *nuisance*, as it was termed, of importing cattle from Ireland, although the value of those imported, previous to the law, was above £132,000; the hides, tallow, and freight thereof were worth half that sum. Observe how

* Lord Sheffield must have allowed his love for loyalty to get the better of his reason, which has led him on to state as great absurdities and impossibilities as were ever brought forward—"When Charles II. came to the throne, the cattle and stock of Ireland were worth £4,000,000.—When Cromwell was Protector, they were £500,000.—When Charles II. was restored, the cattle and stock of Ireland were so overwhelming, that the landed interest of England, by their power in Parliament, prohibited the importation." How wonderfully prolific !!!

it answered the narrow views of England. Before that time great numbers of young cattle were sent to England: little butter, scarce any beef, hides or tallow were imported, and the money received for the cattle was paid for English commodities. Ireland turned to sheep, to the dairy, and fattening cattle, and to tillage, and she shortly had much beef and butter, and has since supplanted England in those beneficial branches of trade: she was forced to seek a foreign market, and England had no more than a fourth of her trade, although she had before that time almost the whole of it. 'The woollen manufactures of Ireland towards the end of that century began to revive.'

[A report of the Board of Trade made in the year 1697, gives the following account of the Irish woollen manufacture:

	New Draperies.		Old Draperies.	Frizes.
1665	Pieces	224	32	Yds. 444,381
1687	Do.	11,360	103	Do. 1,129,716
1697	Do.	4,413	34 $\frac{3}{4}$	Do. 104,167]

“England, not content with her extraordinary experiment in respect of cattle, immediately supposed her own manufactures ruined; and a narrow spirit, which was more excusable in the manufacturers, because they seemed, in a degree, interested, induced the Legislature to pass an act in 1699, prohibiting the exportation of woollen manufactures from Ireland to any other places, but the few wool ports in England, where they were liable to duties which amounted to a prohibition.”

“And observe again the mistake of England. The woollen manufacturers of Ireland, who, or their ancestors, came chiefly from England,* now emigrated from Ireland. In their resentment and necessities, many of the Protestants moved to Germany, many of the Roman Catholics to Spain, and others of each description to France, where they received encouragement, and showed the way how wool might be smuggled both

* About the year 1664 some clothiers from the West of England settled in Dublin, and established the manufacture which still continues there. It is said, nearly at the same time sixty Dutch families of clothiers settled at Limerick. Some English clothiers settled also at Cork and Kinsale. Some French introduced the drugget manufacture at Waterford, and in 1675 some London merchants set up a woollen manufactory at Clonmel.

from Ireland and England. The foundations of manufactures were thus laid, or were promoted, highly to the prejudice of England.

The following table shows the importation of woollens into Ireland from England, so far as is ascertained. Lord Sheffield accounts for the great difference between one year and another as follows:—

“ The reduced importation to the impoverishment and distress arising from bad harvests and dear corn, which took place in 1728 and 1729, and in 1740 and in 1741: and the great increase in 1777 probably arose from the exportation or non-exportation agreements which took place that year, and which were felt by reduced imports in 1779 and 1780.

IMPORTATION OF WOOLLEN GOODS INTO IRELAND FROM ENGLAND.

	Old Drapery, or Woollen Goods.		New Drapery, or Worsted.	
	Yards.	Value.	Yards.	Value.
1700 ...	12,119½	£9,014 12 6	... 24,522	£2,043 10 0
1706 ...	5,514½	4,135 17 6	... 15,308½	1,913 11 3
1720 ..	24,412½	18,309 3 0	... 35,605	3,590 10 0
1737 ...	9,626½	6,497 17 9	... 17,569½	2,635 8 0
1740 ...	16,714		... 39,064	
1743 ...	14,582		... 65,880	
1777 ...	381,330	266,931 0 0	... 731,819½	91,477 8 4
1779 ...	176,196		.. 270,839	
1780 ...	64,346		... 159,428	
1781 ...	326,578		.. 433,198	
1782 ..	362,824		... 547,336	
1783 ...	371,871		... 420,415	

The quantity exported from Ireland to England:—

1700 6,053,256 lbs. wool.

1700 479,106 lbs. yarn.

The exportation of yarn increased much; in 1729, 1,654,372 lbs. of yarn was exported to England, and on the average of five years ending 1768—

The wool exported from Ireland to England was 455,132 lbs.

The yarn ditto in the same period, ... 2,885,132 lbs. on which Lord Sheffield makes the following remarks:—

“ The increased demand for worsted yarn arose from the circumstance that spinning is much cheaper in Ireland than England, viz., in Ireland two-pence halfpenny to three-pence,

and in England five pence to sixpence ; but latterly the quantity has decreased very much, principally from the increase of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, the increase of the people, and consequently increased consumption. The export of woollen and worsted yarn—

In five years ending 1783,	...	...	1,516,590 lbs.
And wool in the same period,	...	...	35,830 lbs.

“ The quality and nature of the wool of Ireland has undergone great changes. Sir William Petty mentions the fleece to have weighed two pounds, and he estimated the number of sheep at four millions. Arthur Young states the average of the fleece in Ireland in his time to have been five pounds.” As to the price of wool in Ireland, we are told that the medium price from 1703 to 1729 was 6s. 6d. per stone of 16lbs.; and that Irish wool and yarn, on a medium of eight years, ending 1728, was worth 10s. 4d. per stone ; and that fine wool in Ireland, in the year 1743, sold at 16s. per stone: the medium, 12s., was above the medium of English.

“ MIDDLE PRICE OF FLEECE WOOL IN IRELAND.

1770 from 14s. 0d. to 15s. 0d. per stone of 16 lbs.		1775 from 16s. 0d. to 17s. 0d. per stone of 16 lbs.	
1771 ...	14s. 6d. to 15s. 6d. do.	1776 ...	17s. 0d. to 18s. 0d. do.
1772 ..	15s. 0d. to 16s. 0d. do.	1777 ...	17s. 6d. to 18s. 6d. do.
1773 ...	15s. 0d. to 16s. 0d. do.	1778 ...	10s. 0d. to 11s. 6d. do.
1774 ...	11s. 0d. to 16s. 0d. do.		

“ The fall in 1778, owing to the stagnation of credit, and to the demand for Bay yarn for England, being decreased.

“ VALUE OF WOOL AND WORSTED BAY YARN, EXPORTED FROM IRELAND
TO ENGLAND.

Wool.		Yarn.		Wool.		Yarn.	
1774 ...	£503	...	£95,881	1779 .	£1,939	..	£151,409
1775 ...	1,004	...	118,346	1780 ...	1,082	...	127,321
1776 ...	530	...	129,791	1781 ...	552	...	122,786
1777 ...	867	...	170,055	1782 ...	1,482	...	125,732
1778 ..	833	...	184,134	1783 ...	1,031	...	100,816

The manufacturers being remiss, or unwilling to expose themselves individually to the revenge of delinquents, in punishing breaches of the law, against frauds in wool and woollen manufactures, it was enacted that a committee of fifteen be chosen at a general meeting of the manufacturers in the counties of Suffolk, Bedford, Huntingdon, North-

ampton, Leicester, Rutland, and Lincoln, and the Isle of Ely, where the wool growers and buyers were exposed to great damage by the fraudulent practice of the people employed by them; and that such committee should superintend the inspectors, and enforce the law against frauds and embezzlements, in a corporate capacity, and at the expense of a common fund.

"1786. George III., by great interest, imported a few Merino sheep from Spain.

"1788. In consequence of the great quantity of English wool alleged to be smuggled from England to France and Flanders, the manufacturers applied to Parliament for more rigorous laws; great excitement prevailed both with the manufacturers and the wool growers of Lincolnshire, and other counties which produced long wool. Deputies met in London from the manufacturing districts.

"Mr. CHARLES CLAPHAM was deputed from Leeds.

"Mr. JOHN HUSTLER from Bradford, (Yorkshire,) and they succeeded in carrying their object.

"Mr. Hustler estimated the produce of English wool at 600,000 packs, equal to one hundred and forty four millions of pounds weight, and it was stated that 11,000 packs were annually smuggled out of the kingdom."

The following pamphlets were published:—

"THE QUESTION OF WOOL TRULY STATED. 1788." Anon.

"The promoters of the bill now depending in Parliament for consolidating and amending the wool laws, come forward with their proposition upon an asserted declension of their trade: they also insist, and have strained every nerve to prove, that smuggling wool is the specific evil which has caused that declension, and also that it is of some magnitude, amounting to 13,000 packs per annum to France alone."

"The Question of Wool truly Stated" gives also many interesting and important tables with statistical information. The comparative export trade of woollen goods from all parts of Great Britain is seen in the following statement laid on the table of the House of Commons:—

EXPORTS OF WOOLLENS.

Average of 7 years, from 1776 to 1782, £3,162,428

Average of 1783, 1784, ... 3,427,984

Ditto 1785, 1786, and 1787 ... 3,697,653

The Yorkshire fabrics of broad and narrow cloths entered at Pontefract were:—

Average of 4 years, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782.	
Broads,	3,446,838 pieces.
Narrows,	2,625,282 pieces.
<hr/>	
Total,	6,072,120 pieces.

Average 1783, 1784, Broads,	4,323,851 pieces.
Narrows,	3,324,325 pieces.
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Total,	7,648,180 pieces.

Average 1785 to 1787, Broads,	4,876,887 pieces.
Narrows,	3,668,074 pieces.
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Total,	8,544,961 pieces.

SPANISH WOOL IMPORTED.

Average 4 years, 1779 to 1782,	1,578,085 lbs.
1783 and 1784,	2,116,183 lbs.
1785 to 1787,	2,966,389 lbs.

The author further says—“ What degree of credit is due to assertions of failures, losses, and declensions in Yorkshire, may easily be conceived. The reader will doubtless remark, that these tables, which are now inserted, prove general prosperity applying equally to the home-consumption and to foreign export. The statement of the manufacturers as to the importation of English wool into France, are also at variance with those procured by the wool growers.”

MANUFACTURERS' STATEMENT.				AGRICULTURISTS' STATEMENT.			
Mr. Anstie stated the following imports entered at the Customs:				Mr. Arthur Young produced an authentic copy taken from the Customs' Register:			
			Packs.				Packs.
St. Malo	1783	...	531	St. Malo	1783	...	124
„	1784	...	456	„	1784	...	151
„	1785	...	515	„	1785	...	133
„	1786	...	515	„	1786	...	128
Lessay.....	1783	...	418	Lessay	1783	...	4
„	1784	...	552	„	1784	...	14
„	1785	...	365	„	1785	...	5
„	1786	...	283	„	1786	...	19
Granville.....	1787	...	841	Granville	1787	...	10
St. Vallery ...	1787	...	639	St. Vallery ...	1787	...	none.
Calais	1783	...	300	Calais	1783	...	none.

Sir JOSEPH BANKS produced an authentic statement of the imports of English wool into France, taken from the Registers of the Office at Paris, instituted for examining the balance of their trade:

"Bureau général de la balance de commerce. Etat de Laines importées de l'Angleterre en France depuis 1782, jusqu'à et compris 1787 :—

	lbs.		livres.		lbs.		livres.
1782 ...	208,062	...	312,126	1785 ...	253,005	...	390,439
1783 ...	286,328	...	389,201	1786 ...	262,320	...	357,649
1784 ...	219,862	...	344,612	1787 ...	104,691	...	163,128

"A LETTER TO ARTHUR YOUNG, Esquire, on the Bill now depending in Parliament to prevent the Exportation of Wool. By THOMAS DAY, Esquire."

Mr. DAY gives no statistical information, but states the general arguments on the injustice done to the wool growers by the restrictions imposed upon them by the wool laws.

MACPHERSON, in his "Annals of Commerce," speaking of that bill, says—"A great clamour was raised by the wool-len manufacturers, who alleged that no less than 13,000 packs of wool were clandestinely exported every year to the Continent, and loudly cried out for more rigorous laws against the smugglers of that important raw material. On the other hand, Sir Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society,"* and Mr. Arthur Young, well known for his extensive observations, and his writings on agricultural and rural affairs, appeared to prove, that the average exportations for five years back had been only 1,100 packs, and since the commercial treaty with France only 480 packs. The manufacturers prevailed, and all the existing laws respecting the exportation of wool were repealed, to make way for a new act, whereby the exportation of sheep (except wethers for sea stock, upon special license) was prohibited, under the penalty of forfeiture of the sheep, and the vessel carrying them, together with £3 for every sheep, and also three months' solitary imprisonment, to be inflicted on every person concerned, or assisting, for the first offence; and

* The property of Sir Joseph Banks was in Lincolnshire, where the farmers were most anxious to have the importation of wool allowed.

heavier fines and punishment for repeated transgressions. Any person concerned, directly or indirectly, in exporting wool, woolfells, merthings, shortlings, &c., &c., or tobacco-pipe-clay, (except to the West Indies) is liable to a penalty of £3 for every pound exported, or £50 in the whole, which ever the prosecutor shall prefer, and also to solitary imprisonment for three months, for the first offence, and six months for the second, besides forfeiture of vessels, boats, waggons, carts, horses, &c. &c. The Act contains a multitude of restrictions upon the carriage of wool from one port to another, within the kingdom, and from place to place upon the lands. Nor can even the rural occupation of sheep shearing be carried on, if within five miles of the sea, without the superintendence of a revenue officer, nor sheep or wool be carried between the main land and the island of Scotland, or across any tide river, or inlet of the sea, without bond being given that they shall not be exported. The exportation of wool to Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, was limited to 6,600 tods, (of 32 pounds each) to be shipped at Southampton, on board vessels belonging to the islands, and under the most vigilant precautions. The penalty on deceitful winding of wool was increased from sixpence to two shillings per piece.

“ The duty of 5s. 6d. per piece, payable on the exportation of white cloth, was explained to be chargeable only on white cloth exported in an unfinished state.”

“ LETTERS TO THE LINCOLNSHIRE GRAZIERS, on the
 “ Subject of the Wool Trade, in which are offered
 “ certain Hints for the correction of Abuses which
 “ prevail therein. Printed at Stamford, 1790.”

These letters made their first appearance in the *Stamford Mercury* in 1788, under the signature of INCOLA.

He begins by stating the rejoicings which had taken place in the manufacturing districts, on the passing of the bill placing greater restrictions on the exportation of wool.

“ On Friday morning, on the arrival of the news that the bill for preventing the exportation of wool had passed the House of Lords, all the bells in Leeds and the surrounding villages were set a ringing, which continued at intervals the

whole day ; at night there were bonfires, and other demonstrations of joy. Similar rejoicings took place at Norwich, on the above occasion. Now, what could possibly occasion all this joy ? It surely must have been the certain prospect which the manufacturer at present has of meeting always with a ready supply of wool, which the late smuggling of it denied him ; but the factors inform their correspondents that the market is full of wool, that the sale of it is at a stand, and the current price 5s. per tod less than the preceding year."

The remainder of this pamphlet contains matter of local interest, and strongly describes the injury which wool growers sustain by restrictions on the exportation of wool.

CHAPTER V.

FROM 1790 TO 1800.

Attention of Agriculturists to fine Wool—Report of the Highland Society—Sir John Sinclair—Dr. Anderson—Improvement of Wool in France—Anstie's Letters to the Bath Agricultural Society, with Observations on the Report of the Highland Society—On the Importation of Spanish Wool—Effect of Soil and Climate on Wool, by Sir J. Sinclair—Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Society for the Improvement of British Wool—Wool encouraged without Exportation, by Henry Wansey—History of the Wool Trade—Abstract of the Laws relating to Wool, and the Woollen Manufacture—Observations on the different Breeds of Sheep in each County of England and Wales—Attention to improve Sheep and Wool—Spanish Sheep imported by George III.—The Royal Flock—Sir Joseph Banks—The Duke of Bedford—Sheep-shearing at Woburn—Sale of Sheep—Prices given for them—Mr. Coke's Improvement in Sheep—Mr. Western's Merinos—Eden's Letters on Trade and Commerce—Tables of Exports, &c.

THE breed of sheep, and the production of the finest wool at this time, excited the attention of agriculturists in all parts of Europe. Spanish wool was considered the finest in the world, and the exportation of sheep from Spain was made capital felony: all foreign wools, on account of the character of Spanish wool, went under that denomination; but the ground work was already laid to make other countries rival Spain in this valuable raw material. In 1780 some Spanish sheep had, by the greatest possible interest, been obtained by the King of France, and the Elector of Saxony: the flocks of those countries were acquiring celebrity, and the merino sheep, from the very few obtained from Spain, were increasing rapidly. It has been already stated, that the King of England had, in 1786, succeeded in getting a few Spanish sheep.

In Great Britain the attention of agriculturists had been directed to their sheep, and the introduction and increase of turnip husbandry gave the means of increasing their flocks, and thus improving their land.

At the Bath Society, established for the encouragement of



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agriculture, arts, and commerce, a number of sheep of various kinds were inspected by competent judges, with a view to ascertain what is the most profitable breed for general stock, in respect to carcase and wool ; and on that occasion, and for that object, the small-boned Leicester, and the South Down breeds were declared to be best.

The attention of the Highland Society was, however, more especially directed to the recovery of that superior fine wool for which Great Britain had, it has been said, been formerly so celebrated.

**“ THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE HIGHLAND
“ SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, to whom the Subject of
“ Shetland Wool was referred, with an Appendix, con-
“ taining Papers drawn up by SIR JOHN SINCLAIR and
“ DR. ANDERSON, in reference to the same Report.
“ 1790.”**

The report commences—

“ It appears to your committee, from evidence, that the subject recommended to their inquiry is one of the most important that could possibly be brought under the consideration of the Highland Society. The number of sheep in Shetland, it is believed, cannot be less than 100,000, and are probably more ; their fleeces, which at an average do not produce above one pound and a half each, are not worth at present above sixpence per lb., or £3,250 in all ; whereas the finest wool might fetch at least five shillings per lb. If the same breed were reared in the Hebrides, and in the Orkney Islands (where they would thrive equally well) wool would be produced in those neglected parts of Great Britain, to the value of perhaps a million. In process of time also, the same species might be extended to other districts of Great Britain. Your committee, however, think it proper to remark, that attention to the fineness of the wool must always diminish in proportion as the carcase becomes valuable, and consequently, that fine woolled sheep are more likely to be preserved in their highest state of perfection in remote parts of the country, than in the neighbourhood of the metropolis ; at the same time, were the Spanish breed of sheep introduced and multiplied in this country, and were the importation of

Spanish wool prohibited, it would soon become of more consequence to attend to the fleece in every part of the kingdom.

“ From the information of gentlemen, it would appear that the permanent fineness of the wool depends entirely upon the breed of sheep ; for on the same pasture, and in the same climate, sheep with the finest and the coarsest wool are maintained, insomuch, that from wool of the same flock, some stockings worth two guineas per pair, and others worth less than four pence, are produced.”

The Highland Society seemed to be of opinion that the nature of food makes no difference in the quality of wool, and that wool of every part of the fleece is equally fine.

“ Your committee had not been able to collect materials sufficient for attempting a long investigation into the peculiar nature and qualities of the Shetland breed of sheep, but they beg leave briefly to state some of the most important particulars which have come to their knowledge.

“ 1. It would appear that there are two kinds of sheep, producing fine wool, to be found in this island ; one known by the name of the *kindly sheep*, whose whole body is covered with it ; another, whose wool is fine about the neck only, and other particular parts of the body. The colour of the fine wool also varies, sometimes being a pure white, which is supposed to be the softest and most silky ; at other times a light grey, sometimes of a black, and sometimes of a russet colour.

“ 2. The sheep producing this wool are of a breed which, for the sake of distinction, might be called the *Beaver Sheep*, for, like that animal, many of them have long hairs growing amongst the wool, which cover and shelter it, and the wool is a species of fine fur, resembling down, which grows, in some measure, under the protection of the hair with which the animal is covered.

“ 3. Your committee understand that the sheep producing this fine wool are of the hardest nature ; are never housed, or kept in any particular pasture, and that in the winter season they are often so pinched for food, that many of them are obliged to feed upon the sea-weed driven upon the shore. It is observed, however, that the healthiest sheep are those

THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY'S REPORT.

which live constantly upon the hills, and never touch the sea-weed.

"4. It appears that the Shetland sheep are never clipped or shorn; but about the beginning of June the wool is pulled off, which is done without the smallest pain or injury to the animal, leaving the long hairs, already mentioned, which shelter the young wool, and contribute to keep the animal warm and comfortable, at a season of the year when cold and piercing winds may occasionally be expected in so northern a latitude. It is said that these long hairs come off later in the season, towards the end of September."

In the appendix to the report of the Highland Society, and which appendix was written by Dr. Anderson, there is much interesting and useful matter, as respects the introduction of the best breed of sheep into France, and improvement in wool.

"In 1762, M. Le Blanc, Member of the Provincial Assembly of Champagne, collected a flock of 300 sheep, whose wool he sold the succeeding year for 410 livres, or £17 sterling. Little satisfied with the result, he determined to try what could be effected by improving the breed: he procured, therefore, some sheep of a better race from Flanders, Picardy, and the provinces in that neighbourhood: in three years time he sold the wool of 300 sheep for 520 livres, and in six years for 680 livres, or £28 6s. 8d. sterling.

"This success was far from satisfying his ambition. In 1775, he set about procuring sheep of a still better quality. In 1783, he obtained a ram and two ewes of the Escuriel breed, from Spain, and two rams of the same species from the famous flock of M. D'Aubenton, at Montbars. From that period, the quality of his wool improved so much, that the fleeces of 300 sheep, in 1788, sold for 2,300 livres, or about £100 sterling."

"A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF THE BATH AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, on the Subject of a Premium for the Improvement of British Wool, including observations on the Report of the Highland Society, and Dr. Anderson's Memorial. By JOHN ANSTIE. 1791."

Mr. Anstie expresses great pleasure and satisfaction at the

establishment of the Highland Society, and at the observations of Dr. Anderson, but, differing in opinion on some points, he states—

“ The staple of Shetland wool, as far as I can judge from a small specimen, appears to be sufficiently strong for any purposes in the woollen manufacture ; but the wool itself is different in other respects from Spanish wool, proper for making fine cloth. How far it might be possible to bring it to the nature of clothing wool, is impossible to determine at present ; but I am inclined to think it is neither practicable or desirable. In the present state of the woollen manufacture, I make no doubt large quantities of this wool might be used, without any alteration in the quality, in light, thin fabrics ; and perhaps it might be injured by any attempt to unite the particular qualities of fine clothing wools with it, in expectation of substituting it for Spanish.

“ The policy of a prohibition on Spanish wool, mentioned in the Report to be desirable, may well be questioned ; but I have occasion to take some notice of this proposal in my remarks on Dr. Anderson’s Memorial. The reign of James I. was peaceable, and probably the woollen manufacture then became considerable. The increased demand for wool at home for home consumption, might probably excite the manufacturers to apply to the legislature for greater restrictions on the exportation of wool, and their request might be complied with, on the supposition that all the wool grown in the kingdom could be consumed by the manufacturers themselves. Whether the legislature acted consistently with true policy, in yielding to this application, is a point I am not discussing ; but it seems very improbable that government, from the reign of James I. to Charles II., should occasionally be more strict in its regulations respecting the exportation of wool, and that the laws should then become fixed, if during that period large quantities of wool had lain in the grower’s hands, and the price of wool in consequence of this had considerably declined.”

He then follows up his argument against any check to the importation of Spanish wool, showing the impolicy of such a measure.

Mr. Anstie’s remarks on wool and sheep are very interesting :—

“ Though it is evident that the quality of wool depends very much on the selecting a good breed of sheep, yet it appears that the nature of some soils is much better adapted to the production of fine wool than others.

“ If the sheep kept on the South Downs of Sussex are depastured on the low grounds a part of the year, which is frequently the case, the wool becomes much coarser. This is a fact sufficiently authenticated by persons who have been purchasers of wool in that country for many years. The downs of Wiltshire vary with respect to the soil; the herbage in some places being much finer than in others, and a manifest difference is perceptible in the quality of the wool. A person, not many miles from Devizes, possesses a small tract, where the soil is particularly fine, and he considers this ground particularly adapted for raising fine wool; the sheep which feed on this land producing much finer wool than on the other parts of his farm. In the county of Hereford, it is a very common practice for the farmers to cross their sheep with Devonshire rams: the wool for the first year is by the practice rendered more coarse, but in two or three years' time it acquires its original fineness, which must be considered as an evident proof of the influence of soil in meliorating the quality of wool. It is well known, that if the Hereford sheep are removed into other counties, where the soil is different, though the wool will by degrees degenerate from its original quality, yet if the same sheep return to their native soil, the wool will again, in a short space of time, become equally fine as at first.

“ Sir Joseph Banks has obligingly presented me two fleeces of the wool cut from sheep originally brought from Spain. One of them is from a ram, which has been in England five years. The sheep have been kept on land near London,” (they were kept at Wanstead Park, Essex,) “ in every respect unfavourable for the production of fine wool, which Sir Joseph Banks informs me was done under the idea *that breed caused the fineness of the pile alone*, and that keep, when the pile was by nature fine, had little, if any, influence in making it coarse. The wool of the ram's fleece is getting very long in the staple, and might very well be combed. On scouring it, I find it possesses, in a considerable degree, the

qualities of Spanish wool. I am, however, pretty confident, if kept in the same pasture two or three years longer, it will appear to decline much more than it has already. Though this may happen, I cannot but be pleased to find the decline in the quality of the wool much less than I should have suspected would have happened in the course of five years.

“The original South Down sheep of Sussex very much resemble the Spanish breed; certain it is, the quality of the Sussex wools (though not so fine on the hair as the Hereford) resemble Spanish in closeness of texture more than any other kind of English wool.

“I cannot precisely ascertain the value of the fleece received from Sir Joseph Banks, till it is manufactured; but I am inclined to believe it will sell for about one shilling more than a fleece of Wiltshire wool.”

“ADDRESS TO THE SOCIETY FOR THE IMPROVEMENT
“OF BRITISH WOOL. BY SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART.
“January, 1791.”

Sir John divides the subject into two heads—“Breed” and “Management.”

Under the first head very little new is elucidated, and the second refers chiefly to the management of sheep in the Highlands of Scotland, assuming that, both in quality and quantity, they might there supersede the importation of Spanish wool.

Sir John Sinclair gives an authentic account of Spanish wool imported from 1771 to 1789, (which is included in the table of the importation of foreign wool herewith); and in order to show the ruling principle in his mind, the following quotation is inserted:—

“Though in time of peace, the importation of Spanish wool exceeds even four millions of pounds weight,* yet in time of war it fell off to 3, 4, and 500,000 lbs. This tends to prove, what I am persuaded is the case, that the importation of Spanish wool is not essential, and that by proper attention and encouragement, we might supply our own looms with that important material. Nothing, however, can be more dis-

* It now (viz. in 1840) exceeds fifty millions of pounds weight.

couraging to the grower, than to have the exportation of his wool prohibited, while foreign wools are admitted duty free."

"WOOL ENCOURAGED WITHOUT EXPORTATION: OR
"PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS ON WOOL AND THE
"WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE. 1791."

This is divided into two parts. Part No. 1 contains "Strictures on Appendix No. 4 to a Report made by a Committee of the Highland Society, on the subject of Shetland Wool." Part 2nd contains "A Brief History of Wool and the Nature of the Woollen Manufacture, as connected with it. By HENRY WANSEY, F.A.S. 1791."

INTRODUCTION.

"Dr. Anderson's observations on Wool (particularly in Appendix No. 4 to the Report of the Highland Society at Edinburgh, on the subject of Shetland Wool) abound with many statements contrary to fact; and what is worse, conclusions are drawn from them, and points established, which may tend to mislead many a well-wisher to the country, for want of being better understood.

"The only object in the following treatise is to prevent the public being misled by a partial representation on a subject wherein the interest of my country is so much concerned. I shall only observe, that the knowledge I may have acquired of the nature of wool, is the result of twenty-five years' practice, as well as theory, in the manufacturing part of it. I have made the history of it a favourite study.

"I agree with the Doctor that our wool is much degenerated, but not in the degree or manner he states; and also that it may be so improved, as to supply ourselves with much more fine wool than at present, and so to prevent the necessity of importing so many thousand bags of fine wool annually from Spain; yet many strong reasons subsist why it is better to encourage the growth of fine wool by premiums at home, than to seek the premium of a foreign market.

"The Doctor condemns the policy of this country for ages past, in keeping its wool at home, and reminds us of the great exportation of wool in the time of Edward III. to the Low Countries; but would he wish to see the two countries in the relative situation of those times? They were then a country

full of manufactures, and we were only wool growers. 'They were rich, and supplied all Europe with money, and we were poor, and forced to pay our troops with wool, having but little money. We are now (thank God) able to improve every pound of our wool ourselves, be it fine or coarse, from five, six, or seven hundred per cent. The Doctor does not seem to comprehend the true difference between parting with our wool in the raw state, as nature gives it, and parting with it after it has been fully manufactured. In the former case, the balance of trade would soon be many millions against this country and even to the wool grower himself; the advantage, in my opinion, is doubtful, as I shall probably show. But the legislature is surely too wise to sacrifice the general interest to the few; and I am convinced a proper discussion on the subject will discover it to be the truest and the best policy of this country not only to keep our wool at home, but to increase the quantity by an increased and improving growth, if possible to as great an extent as we can find hands to employ in our manufactures.

“Having premised this, I shall only add, that the same motives which influenced the learned Doctor to write, induce me also to take up my pen, to wit, an ardent desire to encourage the growth and improvement of British wool, an object well worth the attention and support of every friend of his country: nor do I think it at all necessary, in pursuing this object, that the landed and commercial interests should be set in opposition to each other, or those of the wool grower and manufacturer. The rise of the latter does not at all stand in the depression of the former: for I conceive the interests of the former to be so blended with advantages to the latter, that it must be an illiberal, or at least a narrow mind, that attempts to separate them.”

Mr. Wansey divides his remarks under different heads,—

1. On Dr. Anderson's Memorial concerning British wool, in Appendix No. 4, in the Report of the Committee of the Highland Society, published in 1790.

He then gives a detailed account of wool, taken chiefly from the different authorities quoted by Smith in his “Memoirs of Wool,” and concludes that part of the subject as follows:—

“1. That Britain in ancient times produced wool much

finer than any part of Europe, and in a much larger proportion to its coarse wool than it does at present.

“ 2. That the wool of Spain during that period was so far inferior as to debase the wool of England whenever it was mixed with it in manufacture. One particular defect in its quality, besides its coarse nature, was that it would not prove or thicken in the mill.

“ 3. That during the above period England was very poor, its land not cultivated, had but little manufactures, and was thinly inhabited.

“ 4. That in those ages, when England and France were wasting their strength in war with each other, Spain was full of inhabitants, industry, and manufactures, producing much wool; though to make their fine cloth they bought the wool of other countries, chiefly at the Flemish market, where the greatest part of the wool of England was carried for sale; but they most coveted the English wool grown in the Cotswold.

“ 5. That upon the expulsion of the Moors, a very industrious people, and the discovery of the rich mines of South America, which immediately followed upon it, the industry and thrift of that nation declined.

“ 6. That previous, however, to this, some people of Spain procured, at the conclusion of a treaty between the two kingdoms, from one of our kings, leave to export a few Cotswold sheep, which, by a careful mode of management, and being put under certain convents and privileged houses, have so increased, that though the views of those wise men did not come to pass in the way they had intended, from the declination of their people from their ancient industry, yet however, in consequence thereof, they are become able to supply those countries with fine wool which used to supply them.

“ 7. That though the English in those times could make but poor progress in manufactures, yet, being at last emancipated from their difficulties, have since become the greatest manufacturers in Europe: that from this improved state of trade, industry, and commerce, the landowner has been induced to turn his attention from the ancient small breed of English sheep, to a larger and stronger sort, producing more mutton, of considerably more weight and value than the

former sort: that though the natural feed of the ground would not maintain this large breed, he could have recourse to artificial modes of feed and manure,—to feeding with turnips, and turning the downs into inclosures; the high price of all kinds of produce being a further inducement to the highest cultivation of his lands, his landlord having also raised him high in rents.

“8. That though he observes this has a visible effect on the fineness of wool, it does not deter him because of the additional profit on his mutton.

“9. That in Spain there has been for ages, and still is, two distinct breeds of sheep, the one (*transhumantes*) a small short-legged animal, producing fine wool, and the other (*estantes*) a large long-legged sheep, producing poor lank wool resembling flax, which has no elasticity, nor will it prove or thicken in the mill. This latter is the ancient sheep of Spain, whose wool is fit only for making a coarse kind of serge, and is the same which our ancient laws forbid the mixing with our wool.

“10. That notwithstanding the improved system of husbandry in England has depreciated our fine wools, yet, by increasing the quantity, it has greatly compensated the loss, enabling this country to extend its manufactures, coarse wool being as essential as fine wool.

“11. That this country still has some advantages in a kind of wool which no improved system of husbandry has yet deprived it of, viz., the long combing wool, which is coveted by the French for their *estefanes*, and their worsted goods, which is found to flourish well in inclosures.

“12. That, however, as England expends a large sum of money in purchasing the finest raw materials from Spain, which supply may not always hold, and as many parts of Britain, remote and uncultivated, would breed the fine wool equally as well, if properly encouraged, it is truly patriotic in any man, or body of men, who, by holding forth premiums, purchasing fine woolled rams, ascertaining the best or fittest food for fine woolled sheep, pointing out improved methods of treating, sheltering, and feeding them, and such other encouragements as do promote the culture thereof.”

In the second division of the subject, Mr. Wansey gives a

brief history of the wool of this kingdom, when it began to be exported, the customs thereon, and the ancient price thereof, and the nature of the woollen manufacture, as connected with it. The account is taken chiefly from "Smith's Memoirs of Wool," and, though interesting, does not give information which was not before known.

"A COMPLETE ABSTRACT of the Laws relating to the
 "GROWERS of WOOL, and to the Manufacturers of, and
 "Dealers in, all Sorts of Woollen Commodities. By
 "WILLIAM RADCLIFFE, Esq., A. B. 1791."

This is a mere abstract, as the title states, of the laws (enumerating 307) then on the statute book, without one comment thereon.

"OBSERVATIONS ON THE DIFFERENT BREEDS OF SHEEP,
 "and the State of Sheep-farming in some of the principal Counties of England, drawn up from a Report transmitted to Sir John Sinclair, Bart., Chairman of the Society for the Improvement of British Wool, by Messrs. REDHEAD, LAING, and MARSHALL, Store-Farmers in the Counties of Roxburg and Northumberland; together with Thoughts on the different Breeds of Sheep that ought to be propagated in Great Britain—Remarks on the State of Sheep-Farming in the West Highlands—Analysis of a Cheviot Sheep Farm—An Account of the Shetland Breed of Sheep—A Description of the Culley Breed, and the Mode of managing them. 1792."

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"The British Wool Society being anxious to procure as much information as possible respecting the different breeds of sheep in England, and the proper mode of managing them, they pitched upon Mr. William Redhead, of Chatto, Robert Laing, of Plenderlatt, both in the county of Roxburgh, and William Marshall, jun, of Blindburn, in the county of Northumberland, store masters, or sheep farmers, to make a survey of the principal counties of England distinguished for the excellence of their breeds, and to report their observations thereon to the society."

Those gentlemen went through the greater part of England, and the following observations occur :—

“ *Cumberland and Westmoreland.*—The breed is native. Its hardness will best appear from stating, that the loss by death is computed, in moderate years, at about 2 per cent., and in hard weather, at about 7 per cent. ; they feed to about 14 lb. per quarter ; the average weight of wedder fleece of four years old about 4 lbs., and the price 6d. per lb. The wool is chiefly white, and in length about four inches ; it is principally manufactured at Kendal, into coarse articles called Kendal cottons and linsey woolsey : the breed arrives at perfection in five years. No food is given but grass and hay, and sometimes a few turnips. The fleece is clipped only once a year, in the beginning of July.

“ There is, however, a smaller breed, called the Hardwicks, weighing only 8 lbs. per quarter when fat, which are kept on a high extensive district, reaching from the head of Windermere to Whitehaven. This breed is so hardy that though they remain on the mountains during the winter, yet no hay is given to them ; whereas the other breed is wintered in the low lands.

“ *Lancashire.*—The breed is native, the wool sells at 12s. per stone of 14 lbs. The tenants shear their lambs, and sell the wool at 9d. per lb. In the neighbourhood of Preston the Herefordshire sheep have been introduced, and the wools sells at 33s. to 34s. per stone.

“ *Cheshire.*—The breed of sheep are partly Anglesey and partly Shropshire, and the wool sells at 15d. per lb.

“ On Delamere forest they have small black and brown-faced sheep, which weigh from 7 to 8 lbs. per quarter have short, fine wool, the fleece 1½ lbs., and sells at 1s. 6d. per lb.

“ *North Wales, (by a Welchman.)*—The Welch sheep are of the same sort and size, time immemorial ; nor are they likely to undergo any changes, as the apprehension created by the introduction of English sheep into Anglesey and Carnarvonshire, and in consequence of the scab and other disorders to which the English sheep are rather subject, has put a total stop to any anxiety for improvement.” [All sheep coming from a rich to a poor country are subject to scab and

other disorders, in consequence of that scarcity of food to which they have not been accustomed.]

“ The Welch sheep are a short uninviting animal to look at, very small boned, and weigh upon an average when full fed 10lb. per quarter, or 40lb. to the carcase. The wool is of a close texture, not long or in great abundance, but very firm and oily; nor has any one sheep, that I ever heard of, a fleece of that hairy appearance so prevalent in Scotland. It is a rule, not generally, but at the same time very frequently practised in this vicinity about Michaelmas, to shear the sheep from the neck to the loins and hind quarters; and the shepherds generally declare the next summer fleece is thicker and finer since this custom has been adopted. The weight of the best fleece is 2lbs.: the sheep are never housed or folded, but the lambs are brought down and wintered in the vales the first years, but are afterwards coursed up to the mountains by curs if they make their appearance in the valleys.

“ In manufacturing in Wales the webs are made principally in Merionethshire, and the finest are manufactured from the body-wool of the sheep. The neck wool, which is generally the finest, is kept for flannels. The wool from the breech, legs, and thighs of the sheep, together with other coarse wool that may be picked out of the whole fleece, is applied to making a coarse blanketing for family use. In Merionethshire there are a hardy kind of white-faced sheep, that live upon the hills in summer, and upon the farms and hills in winter, and shift for themselves all the year, without putting the farmer to one farthing expense to provide them provender. The wedder sheep are kept to four, five, or six years old, and, when fatted, will upon an average weigh about 10lbs. per quarter. The sheep in the upper end of Merionethshire are also nearly the same sort of sheep, and white-faced, but better wool. The wool of these sheep is picked in three sorts; from the body and neck wool, the finest flannels are made, some of which fetch in our market 3s. to 3s. 9d. per yard; the rest of the wool is converted into coarse flannels.

“ *Shropshire* contains a variety of mixed breeds, none of which can now be called a native, pure, and distinct species. They are not wild—are hardy and less subject to disease than

any of the pure breeds of sheep; they weigh from 10 to 16lbs. per quarter; the mutton very good; clip about 3lbs. of wool per fleece, which sells about 1s. 2d. per lb. The wool is white—a medium between the long and short wool; it is spun and made into cloth in Yorkshire. The widders go off at two years old, except on the commons, where they are kept to four or five, at which period their teeth begin to fail. The average weight of the tallow is about 8lbs., though some have produced 14lbs.: have one lamb in March and sometimes none—do not wish them to have more—well covered with wool when lambed—have no particular mode of management—are never housed—their food the worst of the grass pastures, with the fogs (after-grass) and stubbles. Towards the spring the ewes and lambs get turnips. No particular disorder prevails here—in wet or marshy lands are subject to the rot, for which have found out no cure. In the pastures and inclosures the sheep are subject to foot rot.

“On Morfe common, near Bridgenorth, which contains about 600,000 acres, there are about 10,000 sheep kept during the summer months, which produce wool of superior quality. They are considered a native breed, are black-faced or brown, or a spotted-faced horned sheep, little subject either to rot or scab, weighing, the widders from 11 to 14lbs., and the ewes from 9 to 12lbs. the quarter, after being fed with clover and turnips, and clipping nearly 2lbs. per fleece, exclusive of the breeching, which may be a seventh or eighth part of the whole. The fine wool sells at 2s. per lb., and the breeching at 1s. per lb., making the produce of the fleece about 3s. 2d. each; it is sold to Yorkshire.

“*Herefordshire.*—The Ryeland Breed.—They are native, domesticated, and hardy; average weight 14lbs. per quarter; fore and hind quarter nearly equal; the mutton excellent; average weight of wool 2lbs. per fleece, and average price 3s. per stone of 12½lbs. The wool from the sheep going upon the fallow grounds is the colour of the soil; short and fine in the staple, and best calculated for making fine cloth; at perfection at five years old; produce 8lbs. of tallow, exclusive of the kidney fat; generally one lamb in the month of January, February, or March, covered with wool when lambed.

" *Gloucestershire, (Ross, &c.)*—Gloucestershire Ryelanders, natives of this part of the country, and considered to be there the true Ryeland breed, completely domesticated, and very hardy; pure and not crossed; have remained the same from time immemorial; when fat, weigh at the average from 14 to 16lbs. per quarter, the mutton most excellent; clip 1½lbs. per fleece, which sells from 21s. to 24s. per stone at 12½lbs., whereas the wool of the brothers and sisters of the same sheep, after being at Ross only five or six months, give 38s. per stone!!! The colour of the sheep is in general white; formerly sold and manufactured in this county, latterly sold into Yorkshire. At perfection at four years old.

" *Wiltshire.*—Large white-faced sheep, with horns falling back behind the ears, long-faced and legged, strong-boned and of tolerable shape; wool worth 1s. 6d. per lb.

" *Berkshire.*—On the forest, sheep of various sorts, some horned and some pollards; some with small black, some grey, and some spotted faces; we were astonished to find so miserable a breed of sheep so near the metropolis.

" *Surrey.*—Chiefly South Down sheep, clip 2½ lbs. per fleece.

Hertford, Bedford, Buckingham, and Northamptonshire; being informed they were principally feeding, and not breeding counties, did not think it necessary to enter into minute inquiries.

" *Leicestershire.*—Mr. Bakewell went with them over his farms at Dishley, and showed the following specimens of various breeds of sheep.

"1. *DORSETSHIRE*—A horned breed, with a good fleece, but not well shaped.

"2. *ICELAND*—with four horns, a spotted, long-carcased animal, fleece and shape both bad.

"3. *CAPE OF GOOD HOPE*—More like a goat than a sheep, fleece very hairy, and considerably longer about the neck than in other parts, and of a brownish colour, pollard and ill-shaped; the only valuable part of the fleece seemed to be a little down next the skin, but by no means so fine as Shetland.

"4. *NORFOLK*—A horned and long-legged sheep; fleece and shape both bad.

"5. *CHESHIRE*—Neither fleece nor shape good.

"6. *SUSSEX*—Fleece good, but shape bad.

"7. *HEREFORD*—Superior fleece.

“8. A cross between Hereford ewe and Leicester ram : superior both in shape and fleece to the Hereford.

“9. A cross between the Hereford ewe and a Spanish ram : the fleece inferior to the last.

“10. The ewes and wedders of Mr. Bakewell's breed.

“Mr. Bakewell informed us that all the above sheep had gone together on the same pasture since they were lambs ; that with a view to see which of them fed upon the least food, he took them into the house, and tied them up for a fortnight, weighing them when they went in, and giving them as much food as they choosed to eat, which was also weighed, and a regular account kept of the whole. The following was the result, with regard to the four last above mentioned :—

	Weight of Sheep.	Weight of Meat.
Hereford,	149	145
Half Hereford, half Spanish,	163	179 *
Half Hereford, half Leicester,	170	150
Leicester, or Dishley, ...	174	95

“There are three different breeds of sheep in Leicestershire, the old Leicester breed, the new Leicester, or Dishley breed, and the common forest sheep. The fleece of the Dishley breed weighs at an average 8 lbs., and sells at ten pence per lb.

“*Nottinghamshire*.—The new Leicester chiefly prevail.

“*Lincolnshire*.—The breed is native, domesticated, and hardy. The principal characteristics, in which they differ from other sheep, are a considerable weight of collar, (producing $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of wool,) greater size, and heavier carcase : the average weight of the fleece is 10 lbs. ; price per tod of 29 lb., 26s. The hog wool is 16 to 18 inches in length, the wedder from 10 to 12 lbs. ; colour a beautiful white.

The Lincolnshire sheep are now mostly crossed with the Leicester rams, which has very much improved the carcase, though not the fleece.

“*Yorkshire*.—Chiefly a feeding county. There are a variety of sheep pasturing on the commons of different kinds, and purchased from different quarters.

* There must be some mistake made in figures by the above gentleman, to cause such great difference.—(Compiler.)

“Durham.—Though there are several different breeds in this county, yet what is known by the name of Durham, or Tees Water breed, is considered to be by far the most valuable. At present it is rarely to be found pure, being mostly crossed with the Leicester. The breed is completely domesticated. The Tees-water was originally a long loose sheep, and not so hardy as the Leicester; but becomes much hardier when properly crossed. It is the biggest sheep in the island, and when pure, and well kept for a proper length of time, weighs the most of any; but not so easily fattened, unless when crossed. Mostly fed at two years old, weighs at an average about 28 or 30 lbs. per quarter. The cross of the Leicester has considerably improved the shape, thickened the carcase, increased the weight of the fore quarter, and given a great tendency to fatten.

“Northumberland.—The sheep of this county may be divided into two classes; the most general and numerous flocks are of the Cheviot breed. The other, in the lower parts of the county, are what are called Mug Sheep, which have been much improved by Messrs. Culley and others, by introducing Leicester and Bakewell rams.

“1792.—In this year great attention was paid to the improvement in the breed of sheep and the quality of wool: the names of Bakewell, of Derbyshire, and Culley, of Durham, have been both mentioned by the persons who were deputed by the Highland Society to travel through England for the purpose of seeing the different breeds of sheep and different modes of management. The attention of both these celebrated improvers of sheep was directed to the same objects,—the weight of the carcase and fleece, and to produce that breed of sheep which would be most profitable to the farmer. His Majesty George III. turned his attention to the improvement in the quality of fine wool: he had succeeded, as has been already stated, in importing a few sheep from Spain, in 1786; and in this year, by means of Lord Auckland, the ambassador at the Court of Madrid, he was enabled to add to his flock five rams and thirty-five ewes, of the very highest class in Spain, being of the Nigrette breed, and from the flocks of the Marchioness Del Campo d’Alange, for which His Majesty gave

in exchange eight fine English coach horses. The Spanish sheep thus imported were very far from handsome in their shape, and too generally thin and poor : they are principally distinguished from other sheep, next to the superior fineness of the fibre of their wool, by the dirty appearance of their fleece outside, though beautifully white within, owing to the greasy matter, or yolk, as it is called, with which it abounds, causing the dust of the land to adhere to the wool. They have also white faces, of a peculiar silky appearance ; just above the nose are two or three singular wrinkles, and upon the head, behind the horns, is a soft protuberance of flesh ; they are also less in size than a great proportion of English sheep.

“ The small flocks of Spanish sheep which were imported by George III., were entrusted to the care of Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, one of the most intelligent and indefatigable naturalists of his day ; who, in order to procure information congenial to his taste and study, left his home and his estates in Lincolnshire, and accompanied Captain Cook on his voyage round the world, bringing back with him a vast fund of knowledge from the Southern Hemisphere. Sir Joseph Banks had long paid great attention to sheep and wool, but more particularly to the long-wool'd sheep, for which his native country was so celebrated : he was well-informed on all points relating to its production and uses, and His Majesty could not have placed his flocks under a better shepherd. Sir Joseph Banks selected the Park at Oatlands, the seat of the Duke of York, for their pasture, and confined his views, in the management of the Royal flock, to the preservation of the original breed, admitting no crosses, however superior their pretensions. The Merino flock continued healthy, and increased very fast ; but the wool-buyers were averse to the idea that any wool grown in England could answer, in the manufacture of fine cloth, the purpose of that imported from Spain ; but Sir Joseph was enabled to obtain more than 2s. per lb. for the wool of those sheep in 1796, and only 2s. 6d. in 1797. In 1798 the wool was washed previous to the sale, and sorted into three different parcels, according to its fineness, in the same manner as is done in Spain, viz., prime wool, called *Raffinos*, marked R., which sold for 5s.

per lb., choicelocks, or finos, marked F., at 3s. 6d., and fribs, marked T., at 2s. 6d. per lb.; the very best Spanish wool imported, selling at the same time at 5s. 6d. per lb.

“ Whilst His Majesty was thus endeavouring to introduce into the kingdom those sheep which produced the finest wool, the English agriculturists were most indefatigable in their endeavours to improve those breeds of sheep which they considered most profitable to the farmer, giving the greatest weight of mutton, and the heaviest fleeces.

“ The Duke of Bedford, one of the most amiable noblemen of his time, was most unwearied in his attention to agricultural pursuits; and in the year 1799 he drew together at his sheep-shearing at Woburn, the greatest meeting of agriculturists that had ever congregated in England. Amongst the noblemen present, were the Duke of Manchester, the Marquis of Bath, the Earls of Egremont, Lauderdale, Winchelsea, Lorda Sherburn, Ludlow, &c. &c., Sir Joseph Banks, Sir H. Featherstone, Sir John Ramsden, Mr. Coke, Member for Norfolk, and almost every agriculturist of note in the kingdom. About one hundred and ninety sat down at dinner together for five days successively. Premiums, which had been offered by the Duke of Bedford for the best cattle, sheep, and ploughing, were distributed, and his Grace let out about seventy South Down and other rams, for about one thousand pounds. The conversation was entirely agricultural, and great interest and discussion was excited by the question, whether the new Leicester or the South Down breed of sheep was the better and most profitable. Mr. Coke offered the gentlemen of the Leicestershire Society a wager of £500, that he would stock one hundred acres with South Down wethers against another hundred acres, to be stocked by any four gentlemen of the new Leicestershire breeders; but it was declined, and a smaller experiment proposed to be made in Leicestershire, which was also not accepted. Many wool-buyers attended, and his Grace of Bedford acted as auctioneer; the long wool was sold at 1s. per lb., the South Down at 1s. 10d. per lb., and Sir Joseph Banks sold the wool from His Majesty's Spanish flock at 5s. per lb.

“ Hospitality could not be more nobly or more usefully exercised than on this occasion, by the Duke of Bedford, from

whose magnificent mansion and highly-cultivated farms, every one went away greatly pleased and instructed, and diffused the information they had acquired, and the zeal they had imbibed, over various parts of the country. The sheep-shearing at Woburn continued annually upon the same scale, and with the same beneficial effects, till the death of that excellent and most useful nobleman. The following account gives a detail of their proceedings in 1800 :—

“ This truly laudable institution attracted several hundreds of agriculturists and breeders from all parts of the kingdom, among whom were several noblemen and gentlemen from England and Ireland, and a German nobleman, who is at the head of a very extensive agricultural establishment in his own country.

“ The Duke of Bedford gave a public breakfast at Woburn Abbey at nine o'clock.

“ At eleven o'clock His Royal Highness Prince William of Gloucester arrived, soon after which the company proceeded in a general cavalcade to the new farm-yard, in the Park, for the purpose of inspecting the sheep-shearing, at which five of the best hands that could be procured were employed: they then proceeded to the building lately erected for examining the rams that are to be let for the next season, which were to be shown again with the prices fixed to them. The certificates were then opened by his Grace, and a committee of the different candidates for prizes of fifty guineas, to be given by the Duke (for the encouragement of the introduction of the Leicester and South Down breed of sheep into Bedfordshire) to the person in Bedfordshire who should, between June, 1799, and Christmas, expend the largest sum of money (not less than sixty guineas) in the purchase of breeding ewes or shears of the New Leicester and South Down breed. These were taken into consideration, but the successful candidate was not announced.

“ About three o'clock the company adjourned to dinner, and the Duke of Bedford entertained near two hundred noblemen, gentlemen, and yeomen, in the large hall, in the ancient part of the Abbey, where tables were laid out which branched in three directions, and so contrived as to have but one head, at which his Grace presided. Prince William of Gloucester

sat at the right hand, and Lord John Russell, the Duke's brother, and who succeeded to the title, sat as croupier.

"After dinner, at six o'clock, they left the Abbey, and proceeded to the farm-yard again.

"On Tuesday, the Duke of Bedford, attended by his company, proceeded from the Abbey on horseback, to the new farm-yard in the Park, where they were met by great numbers, who had arrived from different parts.

"The sweepstakes of five guineas each, made by the Duke of Bedford, Lord Winchelsea, Lord Somerville, and Mr. Bouverie, to produce at this sheep-shearing the best two-years-old heifer, of the Devonshire breed, the Duke of Bedford being clear, and Mr. Bouverie not producing one, rested with Lord Winchelsea and Lord Somerville; and a committee was appointed, who, after considerable examination, declared in favour of Lord Winchelsea. Several improved implements in husbandry were shown, particularly a chaff-cutter, ploughs, harrows, &c. &c.

"At three o'clock the Duke again entertained about two hundred of the company, in the great hall in the Abbey, with an elegant dinner, consisting of one hundred and sixty covers.

"The business of letting the tups took up the whole afternoon, till near dark, during which time several bets were made about cattle.

"Third day, Wednesday.—There was a greater number of persons assembled than on the former days, and the weather proving fine, the sight of so many opulent men assembled upon so laudable and rational an occasion, was highly gratifying.

"His Grace gave a public breakfast at the Abbey at nine o'clock. At eleven o'clock the company began to move in a great cavalcade from the Abbey, and were met in the Park by a great number of others, of the first respectability, who had come from different parts, when they proceeded to the new farm-yard.

"Nine South Down shears, and one three-year-old, were exhibited in the exhibition-room, and were examined by the hirers of tups.

"A machine for dressing corn in an expeditious way was exhibited in the yard. As soon as the exhibition of the rams

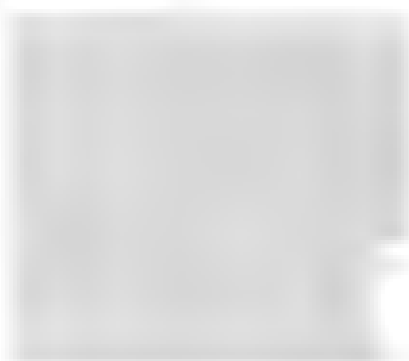
was over, the company, headed by the Duke, proceeded to a fallow field, where experiments were made by five different ploughs, viz., a Northumberland, a Surrey, or Duckett, a Bedfordshire, a Norfolk, and a Scotch one. These useful experiments were tried in sowing turnips, by making the furrows wide apart; the manure was then regularly distributed in them, after which a roller was drawn by an ox, and to the roller was attached a drilling machine, so contrived as for the rollers to cover the manure with the ridge of earth, and the seeds to fall on the earth, which had fallen on the manure; and that machine was so constructed as to cover the seed with earth, so that the seed lay as on a hot bed. After the inspection of the ploughs, the company proceeded to Ridgmont Fields, where experiments were made with Mr. Leicester's scuffling harrow, and others. These experiments were made in consequence of the Duke of Bedford having offered a premium of twenty guineas to the person who should produce at this sheep-shearing the best and most useful newly-invented implement in agriculture. About three o'clock his Grace entertained about two hundred gentlemen with an elegant dinner at the Abbey, at which he again presided.

"A challenge was made by some Herefordshire gentlemen, to produce better cattle than any other county in England, which was taken by Sir Thomas Carr, High Sheriff of the county of Sussex, who undertook to produce as fine from Sussex.

"Fourth Day.—Thursday morning his Grace gave another public breakfast, at nine o'clock, and about eleven the company arrived at the new farm-yard, when the Leicestershire breed of tups were exhibited, and were let—

4 at 10 Guineas each	}	Shearlings.
2 at 15 Guineas each		
2 at 12 Guineas each	}	Two Shears.
1 at 15 Guineas		
1 at 20 Guineas		
2 at 15 Guineas each	}	Three Shears.
1 at 20 Guineas		

The following South Downs were then exhibited, and put up :—







1

2

1 at 10 Guineas.	1 at 50 Guineas.
2 at 25 Guineas each.	1 at 80 Guineas.
2 at 30 Guineas each.	1 at 120 Guineas.
2 at 40 Guineas each.	

“ At three o'clock they adjourned to the Abbey to dinner. When the cloth was removed, the cups to be given by the Duke, as premiums, were put on the table, and he informed the company, in an address, of the determination of the committee which had been appointed to investigate the different claims. He began with the premium offered for the discovery of implements of husbandry, and stated that the Committee had examined the corn-dressing machine, and the scuffling harrows, both which they highly approved. The next premiums were for encouraging the introduction of the new Leicester and South Down breed of sheep into Bedfordshire. His Grace then concluded by congratulating the company on the progress of agricultural improvements which had been made, and by exhorting them to persevere in their laudable exertions.”

The same attention to agriculture, and particularly to the improvement of sheep, was pursued by Mr. Coke, member for Norfolk, (now the Earl of Leicester) at his extensive estates in that county; and after the decease of the Duke of Bedford, which occurred about this period, and by which the agriculturists lost their greatest and best patron, and England one of her best and most patriotic noblemen, Mr. Coke, following his Grace's example, had for some years annual sheep-shearings at Holkham, carried on in the most princely style of hospitality and munificence. He altogether changed the breed of sheep in that county, by the introduction of South Down and new Leicesters, and judicious crosses, thereby getting a much more valuable animal, both as respected carcase and fleece; and by thus promoting the best interest of his country, he increased to a great extent the value of his estates: there is no man in the kingdom to whom the agriculturist is more indebted.

Mr. Western, member for Essex, (now Lord Western) about the same period paid great attention to the merinos.

"EIGHT LETTERS ON THE PEACE, AND ON THE COM-
MERCE AND MANUFACTURES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND. BY SIR FREDERICK MORTON EDEN, BART."

"Of the British manufactures exported to the United States of America, more than two-fifths consist of woollens. That country now stands first in the list of foreign consumers of this production of British industry.

"Of £6,876,939, the official value of woollens exported in 1799, the exports to

The States of America was	£2,803,490
Ireland	916,190
East Indies and China	668,161
Portugal and Madeira	568,788
British and Foreign West Indies	552,726
Germany	427,053
British Continental Colonies in America	324,739
Russia.....	149,789

The proportion exported to the United States in the preceding years will appear from the following account:—

"An Account of the Total Official Value of Woollen Manufactures Exported from Great Britain, in 1790, and the Nine following Years, to the United States of America, and to all Parts of the World.

All Parts of the			All Parts of the		
Year.	United States.	World.	Year.	United States.	World.
1790...	£1,481,378...	£5,190,637	1795...	£1,982,318...	£5,172,884
1791...	1,621,796...	5,505,034	1796...	2,294,942...	6,011,133
1792...	1,361,753...	5,510,668	1797...	1,901,986...	4,936,355
1793...	1,032,954...	3,806,536	1798...	2,399,935...	6,499,339
1794...	1,391,877...	4,390,920	1799 ..	2,803,490 ..	6,876,939

"The true value, agreeably to the prices current in 1791 and 1792, and agreeably to the declarations of the merchant exporters in 1798 and 1799, of woollen manufactures exported from Great Britain in those years was—

1791	1792	1798	1799
£7,376,745	£7,384,295	£8,458,667	£8,529,229

"The value of all the woollens manufactured in Great Britain was stated to exceed £19,000,000, by several intelligent manufacturers, examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1800. A great part of the increased consumption is owing to America, who thus, in some degree, repays the mother country for having reared her to maturity."

“An Account of the Official Value of Woollens exported to the British Colonies in North America, in 1790, and the nine following Years:—

1790.....	£166,192	1795.....	£196,876
1791.....	182,997	1796.....	224,649
1792.....	183,681	1797.....	232,329
1793.....	147,631	1798.....	232,069
1794.....	186,787	1799.....	324,739

Sir F. M. Eden's Letters on the Peace, page 104.

“An Account of the Prime Cost or Value of Woollens Exported to India and China in the Seasons 1798-9, 1799-1800, 1800-1.

	Pieces.	Value.	
1798-9	Broad Cloth..... 14,175.....	£288,229	
	Long Ells .....228,192.....	553,981	
	Camlets 6,563.....	39,174	
			£878,384
1799-1800	Broad Cloth..... 15,984... ..	320,328	
	Long Ells .....230,764.....	567,343	
	Camlets 12,972.....	75,671	
			£963,342
1800-1	Broad Cloth..... 14,951.....	305,069	
	Long Ells .....266,590.....	631,762	
	Camlets 43,755.....	90,452	
			£1,027,283

Sir F. M. Eden's Letters on the Peace, page 116.

An Account of the Official Value of Woollens Exported from Great Britain to Germany, Holland, Flanders, France, and Spain, in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1797, 1798, 1799.

	1790.	1791.	1792.	1797.	1798.	1799.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Germany.....	223,226	255,303	271,638	641,098	463,019	427,053
Holland	306,414	313,845	367,583	7,712	94	175
Flanders	117,779	124,239	117,151	—	—	—
France.....	95,827	96,840	155,134	631	—	—
Spain	407,464	346,367	472,221	26	—	—
Total	1,150,710	1,136,594	1,383,727	649,467	463,113	427,228

From which it appears that the increased export to Germany (the internal consumption of which country, I apprehend, is much greater than it was ten years ago) had not compensated for the loss of the French, Flemish, Dutch, and Spanish markets."—*Sir F. M. Eden's Letters on the Peace*, page 138.

"Twenty years ago the French cloth trade to Turkey began to decline; the troubles produced by the revolution in the southern provinces, and the war that followed these troubles, have much injured the manufactures of Languedoc. Marseilles, sixty years ago, annually exported 12,000 pieces of cloth (of forty yards each) to Aleppo and Constantinople, but the French woollens are now in low estimation in the Levant."—*Hanway's Travels in Persia*, vol. 1, page 39.

"The cloths of Germany, called Leipsics, have supplanted the Londrins of Languedoc, and England enjoys a considerable share in the export of stuffs, the lightness and texture of which we are utterly unable to imitate."—*Beaujoir, Commerce de la Grèce*, vol. 2, p. 9. [M. Beaujoir was French Consul in Greece.]

An Account of the Value according to the Price Currents, or to the Declared Value of the Merchant Exporters of the Goods, Wares, and Merchandise, being British Produce and Manufactures, Exported from Great Britain on an average of Three Years ending the 5th January, 1799, to Ireland and to all other parts of the World.

EXPORTS OF BRITISH PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES.

	To Ireland.	All other Parts.	Total.
	£.	£.	£.
Bark Tanners.....	90,517	268,621	359,138
Coals	156,349	212,077	368,426
Copper (unwrought) ...	810	16,113	16,923
Lead	7,235	223,091	230,326
Salt	36,198	109,336	145,534
Tin	5,315	289,794	295,109
Totals carried forward ...	£296,424	1,119,032	1,415,456

EXPORTS OF BRITISH PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES.

	To Ireland.	All other Parts.	Total.
	£.	£.	£.
Totals brought forward...	296,424	1,119,032	1,413,456
Beer	10,796	205,591	216,387
Brass	14,017	459,161	473,178
Cottons	66,619	4,108,617	4,175,236
Cordage	1,131	130,498	131,629
Chariots and Coaches...	18,734	24,166	42,900
Copper	14,539	554,137	568,676
Glass and Earthenware	75,075	462,884	537,959
Gunpowder	1,465	135,744	137,209
Haberdashery	33,544	1,470,005	1,503,409
Iron and Steel	119,160	2,047,902	2,167,062
Leather	50,966	361,340	412,306
Linens	22,534	1,256,200	1,278,734
Pewter	390	141,494	141,784
Silk	24,991	585,561	610,552
Woollens	686,759	7,771,808	8,458,567
Apothecary Ware	17,532	107,425	124,957
Books Printed	2,840	86,568	91,408
Fish	96,785	164,887	261,672
Candles, Tallow	6	110,916	110,922
All other Articles	533,365	7,879,357	8,412,722
Total	2,087,672	29,185,193	31,272,865

Accounts of Commerce, &c., A. No. 1, copied from Sir F. M. Eden's Letter.

Sir Frederick Morton Eden concludes his Letter thus:—

"I have thus endeavoured to show that though a great part of the Colonial trade acquired by us during the war must revert to other countries, and our commerce with the neutral powers in the north must be reduced within much narrower bounds than it is at present, we may reasonably expect that the export of our manufactures to the United States will increase, the West Indies and Asia will be improving markets, and that returning amity and tranquillity will supply us with new customers in those belligerent States of Europe with whom our intercourse has been suspended, or embarrassed during the contest. It is, however, material to recollect, that neither the tonnage nor the value of imports and exports furnish a fair comparison of the relative importance of the different branches of our foreign trade. The exportation of a piece of British broad cloth is more beneficial to us than the

re-exportation of a quantity of Bengal muslin, or of West India coffee of equal value. The exportation of a piece of broad cloth to a neighbouring country is more beneficial to us than the exportation of the same commodity to a distant country. The reasons are obvious. The vent of British manufactures gives more employment to British industry, and contributes more towards our internal improvement, than the vent of foreign manufactures or of Colonial produce. The circuitous trade carried on with the East and West Indies, for the supply of other nations of Europe, is much too slow in its returns to set so much labour in motion, and to afford employment and subsistence to so great a part of the nation, as a direct trade with our neighbours; a trade which, whilst it enables them to benefit by vicinage, and to procure what they want at the cheapest rate, enables us to purchase the linens of Holland with the woollens of Yorkshire, and the wines of France with the hardware of Birmingham. It is truly observed, that exclusive of British manufactures and produce exported, 'our export trade is, properly speaking, a trade of transit, of merchandise coming either from other parts of the British empire, or from foreign countries, and passing through our ports, having been brought to them either in consequence of our Colonial laws, or otherwise as a safe and convenient place of deposit in the way to the nations by which it is consumed. This branch of trade, though of great advantage in a political view, and in its collateral benefits, yet, as a direct source of national profit, when contrasted with the interior sources of profit, will appear almost insignificant in the comparison, though of no inconsiderable value in itself. It will immediately occur to any one who considers the subject with attention, that this portion of our export trade must at all times, whether of war or peace, return far less national profit than an equal value of commodities of our produce and manufactures.'—*Becke on the Income Tax.*

"The flourishing state of our commerce, which, during a long and arduous struggle has been extended by British industry and protected by British valour, affords a memorable example of what may be effected by the sense, the spirit, and the perseverance of the people."—*Eden's Letters, (page 172 and following.)*

CHAPTER VI.

FROM 1738 TO 1774.

HISTORY of Mechanical Inventions, from BAINES'S "HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE"—Remarks on Inventors and Inventions—Obstacles to the Extension of the Manufacture, from the Rudeness of the Machinery—Invention of the Fly Shuttle by John Kay, in 1738; and of the Drop Box by Robert Kay—The One-Thread Spinning Wheel—Invention of spinning by Rollers, by John Wyatt, of Birmingham—Description of the Process of Spinning—Patent for Spinning by Rollers taken out, in 1738, in the Name of Lewis Paul—Proofs that Wyatt was the Author of this great Invention—Cotton Spinning Mills at Birmingham and Northampton—Letter of Mr. Charles Wyatt on his Father's Invention—Paul's Second Patent for a Spinning Machine in 1758—Probability that Sir Richard Arkwright knew of Wyatt's Invention—Claims of Thomas Highs to the Invention of Spinning by Rollers—Sir Richard Arkwright; his humble origin; his Construction of a Machine for Spinning by Rollers; his Settlement at Nottingham; Partnership with Messrs. Strutt and Need; his first Patent for the Spinning Machine—James Hargreaves invents the Spinning Jenny; his Machine broken by a Mob; Riots against Machinery; Hargreaves retires to Nottingham—Effects of the Spinning Machines on the Cotton Manufacture—Other Improvements in the Spinning Machinery—Carding; the old Methods; the Carding Cylinder invented by Lewis Paul in 1748—Subsequent Improvements in the Carding Engine by Arkwright and others—Great importance of Watt's Improvements in the Steam Engine—National and Universal Benefits derivable from it—Paul and Arkwright's Inventions adapted to the Woollen Manufacture, by B. Gott, Esq.—Popple and Cartwright's Machines for Combing Wool—Woolcombers' Petitions to Parliament—Power-Looms introduced by Cartwright.

THE great era of invention, and the application of science to manufactures, was now in full operation. The woollen manufacture, which for ages had been the staple fabric of England, giving employment and sustenance to the population of many districts, was now about to be surpassed by cotton manufactures. Sir Richard Arkwright put in his claim for the invention of spinning by machinery; and though it is evident that it was in use before his time, being mentioned in Dyer's fleece, as has been already stated, still Arkwright perfected the machinery; and from the humble occupation of a barber in a country town, by his own talent and industry,

raised himself and his family to great wealth; while by the nicety, correctness, and simplicity of his spinning frame, he established the cotton manufactory, and by its application to the woollen and other fabrics, enabled Great Britain eventually to supply almost the whole world with the produce of our national industry.

Mr. Edward Baines, jun., in his valuable work, "*The History of the Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain*,"* attributes the invention of the spinning machine, not to Sir Richard Arkwright, or to Lewis Paul, as stated by Dyer in his "*Fleece*," already quoted, page 169, but to John Wyatt, the partner in misfortune with Lewis Paul; and Mr. Baines took so much pains to investigate that subject, and has thrown so much light upon the introduction of that machinery which has been used, with some modifications, in the woollen manufacture as well as in the cotton, and has been the great agent for the vast extension of both, that the following extracts from his work are most appropriate, and must be interesting:—

FROM BAINES'S HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE.

"We have now arrived at the era of invention; and a series of inventions is to be opened, which for ingenuity and importance has never been equalled in any other manufacture.

"I cannot better introduce a history, which, however splendid in its national results, is sometimes obscure as to the claims of individuals, and more often melancholy as to their fate, than by quoting the following excellent remarks on inventors and inventions from an old writer:—†

"Few new inventions were ever rewarded by a monopoly; for altho' the Inventor, oftentimes drunk with the opinion of his own merit, thinks all the world will invade and encroach upon him, yet I have observed that the generality of men will scarce be hired to make use of the new practices, which them-

* "*History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain: with a Notice of its early History in the East, and in all the Quarters of the Globe; a Description of the great Mechanical Inventions, which have caused its unexampled extension in Britain; and a View of the Present State of the Manufacture, and the Condition of the Classes engaged in its several Departments.* By Edward Baines, Jun. Esq. London: H. Fisher, R. Fisher, and P. Jackson. 1835."

† "*A Treatise on Taxes and Contributions*, published in 1706, and which I have only seen in the British Museum."

selves have not thoroughly tried, and which length of time hath not vindicated from latent inconvenience ; so as when a new invention is first propounded, in the beginning every man objects, and the poor inventor runs the gantloop of all petulant wits ; every man finding his several flaw, no man approving it unless mended according to his own device. Now not one of a hundred outlives this torture, and those that do are at length so changed by the various contrivances of others, that not any one man can pretend to the invention of the whole, nor well agree about their respective shares in the parts. And moreover this commonly is so long a-doing, that the poor inventor is either dead or disabled by the debts contracted to pursue his design ; and withal railed upon as a projector, or worse, by those who joyned their money in partnership with his wit ; so as the said inventor and his pretences are wholly lost and vanisht.'—p. 53.

“ Every stage in the improvement of the cotton manufacture illustrates the truth of these remarks. It is melancholy to contrast with the sanguine eagerness of inventors, the slowness of mankind to acknowledge and reward their merits ; to observe how, on many occasions, genius, instead of realizing fame and fortune, has been pursued by disaster and opposition,—how trifling difficulties have frustrated the success of splendid discoveries,—and how those discoveries, snatched from the grasp of their broken-hearted authors, have brought princely fortunes to men whose only talent was in making money. When inventors fail in their projects, no one pities them ; when they succeed, persecution, envy, and jealousy are their reward. Their means are generally exhausted before their discoveries become productive. They plant a vineyard, and either starve, or are driven from their inheritance, before they can gather the fruit.

“ Up to the year 1760, the machines used in the cotton manufacture in England were nearly as simple as those of India ; though the loom was more strongly and perfectly constructed, and cards for combing the cotton had been adopted from the woollen manufacture.

“ The cotton manufacture, though rapidly increasing, could never have received such an extension as to become of great national importance, without the discovery of some method

for producing a greater quantity and better quality of yarn with the same labour. None but the strong cottons, such as fustians and dimities, were as yet made in England, and for these the demand must always have been limited. Yet at present the demand exceeded the supply, and the modes of manufacture were such as greatly to impede the increase of production. The weaver was continually pressing upon the spinner. The processes of spinning and weaving were generally performed in the same cottage, but the weaver's own family could not supply him with a sufficient quantity of weft, and he had with much pains to collect it from neighbouring spinsters. Thus his time was wasted, and he was often subjected to high demands for an article, on which, as the demand exceeded the supply, the seller could put her own price.* A high and sustained price of yarn would indeed have attracted new hands to the employment, but such high price would itself have tended to keep down the rising manufacture, by making the goods too costly in comparison with other manufactures.

“ This difficulty was likely to be further aggravated by an invention which facilitated the process of weaving. In the year 1738, Mr. John Kay, a native of Bury, in Lancashire, then residing at Colchester, where the woollen manufacture was at that time carried on, suggested a mode of throwing the shuttle, which enabled the weaver to make nearly twice as much cloth as he could make before. The old mode was, to throw the shuttle with the hand, which required a constant extension of the hands to each side of the warp.† By the

* “ Dr. Aikin says, ‘ The weavers, in a scarcity of spinning, have sometimes been paid less for the weft than they paid the spinner, but durst not complain, much less abate the spinner, lest their looms should be unemployed.’—*Hist. of Manchester*, p. 167. Mr. Guest, in his ‘ History of the Cotton Manufacture,’ states, that ‘ it was no uncommon thing for a weaver to walk three or four miles in a morning, and call on five or six spinners, before he could collect weft to serve him for the remainder of the day; and when he wished to weave a piece in a shorter time than usual, a new ribbon, or a gown, was necessary, to quicken the exertions of the spinner.’”—p. 12.

† “ In the first print of Hogarth's admirable series, ‘ *Industry and Idleness*,’ where the two apprentices are seen at their looms, the old form of shuttle and lathe is represented; the industrious apprentice has the shuttle in his hand, ready to throw it; and the shuttle of the idle apprentice hangs dangling by the thread at the end of the lathe, affording a plaything for the cat, whilst the lad sleeps.”

new plan, the lathe (in which the shuttle runs) was lengthened a foot at either end ; and, by means of two strings attached to the opposite ends of the lathe, and both held by a peg in the weaver's hand, he with a slight and sudden pluck, was able to give the proper impulse to the shuttle. The shuttle thus impelled was called the *fly-shuttle*, and the peg was called the *picking-peg* (*i. e.* the *throwing* peg.) This simple contrivance was a great saving of time and exertion to the weaver, and enabled one man to weave the widest cloth, which had before required two persons. ' Mr. Kay brought this ingenious invention to his native town, and introduced it among the woollen weavers, in the same year, but it was not much used among the cotton weavers until 1760. In that year Mr. Robert Kay, of Bury, son of Mr. John Kay, invented the *drop-box*, by means of which the weaver can at pleasure use any one of three shuttles, each containing a different coloured weft, without the trouble of taking them from and replacing them in the lathe.*

" These inventions, like every other invention which has contributed to the extraordinary advance of the cotton manufacture, were opposed by the workmen, who feared that they would lose their employment ; and such was the persecution and danger to which John Kay was exposed, that he left his native country, and went to reside in Paris.

" It has been seen, that the great impediment to the further progress of the manufacture was the impossibility of obtaining an adequate supply of yarn. The one-thread wheel, though turning from morning till night in thousands of cottages, could not keep pace either with the weaver's shuttle, or with the demand of the merchant.

" The one-thread wheel, though much improved from the rude teak-wood wheel used in India, was an extremely slow mode of spinning.

" The yarn was spun by two processes, called *roving* and *spinning*. In the first, the spinner took the short fleecy rolls in which the cotton was stripped off the hand-cards, applied

* " Guest, p. 8. Mr. Guest derived his information on these points 'from a manuscript lent to him by Mr. Samuel Kay, of Bury, son of Mr. Robert Kay, the inventor of the drop-box.' " p. 30.

them successively to the spindle, and, whilst with one hand she turned the wheel, and thus made the spindle revolve, with the other she drew out the cardings, which, receiving a slight twist from the spindle, were made into thick threads called *rovings*, and wound upon the spindle so as to form cops. In the second process, the roving was spun into yarn: the operation was similar, but the thread was drawn out finer, and received much more twist. It will be seen that this instrument only admitted of one thread being spun at a time by one pair of hands: and the slowness of the operation, and consequent expensiveness of the yarn, formed a great obstacle to the establishment of a new manufacture.

"Genius stepped in to remove the difficulty, and gave wings to a manufacture which had been creeping on the earth. A mechanical contrivance was invented, by which twenty, fifty, a hundred, or even a thousand threads could be spun at once by a single pair of hands!

"The authorship of this splendid invention, like that of the art of printing, has been the subject of much doubt and controversy; and by far the greater number of writers have subscribed the honour to an individual, who, though possessed of extraordinary talent and merit, was certainly not the original inventor. Sir Richard Arkwright is generally believed, even to the present day, to have invented the mode of *spinning by rollers*. I shall prove, by a piece of evidence the most unquestionable, and which has never yet been published, that the invention was made, and was the subject of a patent, *thirty years* before it is pretended that Arkwright had conceived it. The inventor, it is true, did not succeed in making his own fortune, or even introducing his machine into general use; he wanted the *primum mobile*, pecuniary means, and could not hold out long enough to realise the success his genius had merited. The invention slumbered for nearly thirty years, till it was either re-discovered, or, what is more probable, till its principles came accidentally to the knowledge of Arkwright, whose keen sagacity appreciated its value, and whose perseverance, talent, and good fortune, enabled him, by its means, to enrich himself and his country.

"The inventor of the mode of *spinning by rollers* was JOHN WYATT, of Birmingham. Before proceeding to adduce

the proof of this statement, I shall describe this mode of spinning, as practised at the present day in the cotton, the woollen, the worsted, and the flax manufactures—for to all these branches has this invaluable machine been applied; and the reader will then be enabled to perceive the identity of principle in the invention of Wyatt, and the machine brought into use by Arkwright, and now universally adopted.

“ In every mode of spinning, the ends to be accomplished are, to *draw out* the loose fibres of the cotton-wool in a regular and continuous line, and, after reducing the fleecy roll to the requisite tenuity, to *twist* it into a thread. Previous to the operation of spinning, the cotton must have undergone the process of carding, the effect of which is to comb out, straighten, and lay parallel to each other its entangled fibres. The cotton was formerly stripped off the cards in loose rolls, called *cardings* or *slivers*; and the only difference between the slivers produced by the old hand-cards and those produced by the present carding engine is, that the former were in lengths of a few inches, and the latter are of the length of some hundreds of yards. Let it be remarked, that the sliver or carding requires to be *drawn out* to a considerably greater fineness, before it is of the proper thickness to be twisted into a thread. The way in which this is now accomplished is by two or more pairs of small rollers, placed horizontally,—the upper and lower roller of each pair revolving in contact: the sliver of cotton, being put between the first pair of rollers, is by their revolution drawn through and compressed: whilst still passing through these rollers, it is caught by another pair of rollers placed immediately in front, which revolve with three, four, or five times the velocity of the first pair, and which therefore *draw out* the sliver to three, four, or five times its former length and degree of fineness: after passing through the second pair of rollers,* the reduced sliver is attached to a spindle and fly, the rapid revolutions of which *twist* it into a thread, and at the same time wind it upon a bobbin. That the rollers may take hold of the cotton, the

* “ Three or more pairs of rollers are now used, to draw out and reduce the sliver more equally than could be done by two pairs; but the principle is exactly the same.”

lower roller is fluted longitudinally, and the upper is covered with leather.

"Such is the beautiful and admirable contrivance, by which a machine is made to do what was formerly, in all countries and ages, effected by the fingers of the spinner. It is obvious that by lengthening or multiplying the rollers, and increasing the number of spindles, all of which may be turned by the same power, many threads may be spun at once, and the process may be carried on with much greater quickness and steadiness than hand-spinning. There is also the important advantage, that the thread produced will be of more regular thickness and more evenly twisted.

"This is the invention ascribed to Sir Richard Arkwright, and on which his renown for mechanical genius mainly rests. It will be found, however, that the process had previously been described, with the utmost distinctness, in the specification of the machine invented by John Wyatt, and that cotton had for some years been spun by those machines. The patent for the invention was taken out, in the year 1738, in the name of Lewis Paul, a foreigner, with whom Mr. Wyatt had connected himself in partnership, and the name of John Wyatt only appears as a witness; but there is other evidence to show that the latter was really the inventor. The reason why Paul was allowed to take out the patent can only be conjectured; it may have been, that Wyatt was then in embarrassed circumstances.

"I proceed to give an attested copy of the patent and specification alluded to:—

"PATENT FOR SPINNING BY ROLLERS, IN 1738.

"*Twentieth Part of Close Rolls, in the Twelfth Year of King George the Second.*

Paul, Lewis, Description of Patent. (20)	}	"TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS shall come, Lewis Paul, of Birmingham, in the County of Warwick, gentleman, Sendeth Greeting: Whereas his present Majesty by his royall Letters Patents under the Great Seal of Great Britain, bearing date the Twenty- fourth day of June, in the Twelfth year of his reign, Hath given and granted unto me, the said Lewis Paul, my executors, admini- strators, and assigns, sole privilege and authority to make, use,
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exercise, and vend a new invented *Machine* or Engine, for the *Spinning of Wool and Cotton*, in a manner entirely new, To have, hold, exercise, and enjoy the said licence, unto me, my executors, administrators, and assigns, for the term of Fourteen Years from the date of the said Letters Patents, according to the statute in such case made and provided. In which said Letters Patents is contained a provisoe that if I, the said Lewis Paul, shall not particularly describe and ascertain the nature and form of my said Invention, and in what manner the same is to be performed, by an Instrument in writing under my hand and seal, and cause the same to be Inrolled in the High Court of Chancery, within two Calendar Months after the date of the said Patent, the same was to be void, as by the said Letters Patents, relation being thereunto had, may appear. Now, know all men by these presents, that I, the said Lewis Paul, do by this present writeing under my hand and seal declare the nature and form of the said Invention to be, and the manner the same is to be performed by, is as follows, to wit, The said Machine, Engine, or Invention will spin Wool or Cotton into Thread, yarn, or worsted, which, before it is placed therein, must be first prepared in manner following, (to wit) all those sorts of Wooll or Cotton which it is necessary to Card must have each Card-full, Batt, or Roll joined together so as to make the mass become a kind of a Rope or Thread of Raw Wooll: In that sort of Wooll which it is necessary to combe, commonly called jarsey, a strict regard must be had to make the Slivers of an equal thickness from End to End: The Wooll or Cotton being thus prepared, *one end of the Mass, Rope, Thread, or Sliver, is put betwixt a pair of Rowlers, Cillinders, or Cones, or some such movements, which, being twined round by their motion, draws in the Raw Mass of Wooll or Cotton to be spun,* in proportion to the velocity given to such Rowlers, Cillinders, or Cones: as the prepared mass passes regularly through or betwixt these Rowlers, Cillinders, or Cones, a succession of OTHER ROWLERS, Cillinders, or Cones, MOVEING PROPORTIONABLY FASTER THAN THE FIRST, *draw the Rope, Thread, or Sliver, into any degree of fineness which may be required:* sometimes these successive Rowlers, Cillinders, or Cones (but not the first) have another Rotation besides that which *diminishes the Thread, yarn, or worsted, (viz.)* that they give it a small degree of Twist betwixt each pair, by means of the Thread itself passing through the axis and center of that Rotation. In some other cases only the first pair of Rowlers, Cillinders, or Cones are used, and then the *Bobbyn, spole, or quill upon which the Thread, Yarn, or Worsted is spun,* is so contrived as to draw faster than the first Rowlers, Cillinders, or Cones give, and in such proportion as the

first Mass, Rope, or Slicer is proposed to be diminished. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this Twentieth day of July in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and thirty eight.

‘LEWIS PAUL.

“ ‘Signed and sealed, (being first duly stamped) in the presence of us,

“ ‘SAML. GUY, JNO. WYATT.’ ”

“ ‘AND BE IT REMEMBERED, That the Twentieth day of July, in the year above written, the aforesaid Lewis Paul came before our said Lord the King in his Chancery, and acknowledged the description aforesaid, and all and every thing therein contained and specified, in forme above written; and also the description aforesaid was stampt according to the tenor of the Statute made in the Sixth year of the Reign of the late King and Queen, William and Mary of England, and so forth. Inrolled the Twentieth day of July, in the year above written.

“ ‘THOMAS BREWETT.’ ”

“ ‘This is a true copy from the original record remaining in the Chapel of the Rolls, having been examined.

“ ‘JOHN KIPLING.’ ”

“ This document proves, beyond all possible doubt, that the mode of spinning by rollers was invented more than thirty years before Arkwright took out his patent for a similar machine, which was not till 1769. I proceed to show that the inventor was John Wyatt, and not Lewis Paul, in whose name the patent was taken out. The first evidence is that of a letter from Mr. Wyatt himself, written when a prisoner for

“ “ I am indebted for the copy of this important and hitherto unpublished document, to the kindness of Richard Guest, Esq., author of the ‘History of the Cotton Manufacture,’ who, though he has both in his ‘History,’ and his ‘Reply to an Article in the Edinburgh Review,’ advocated the claims of Thomas High to the invention of spinning by Rollers, yet communicated to me, with the utmost candour and readiness, the proof that that invention has a considerably earlier date. Mr. Guest was not acquainted with this piece of evidence when he published either of his books, although he had made diligent search for it; the reason of his search being baffled was, that the patent has always been referred to as Wyatt’s invention, which so far misled him in the search for it, that it was not procured until after the sheets of his last work were printed off. The attention of Mr. Guest was probably drawn to Wyatt’s invention by a paper of John Kennedy, Esq., published in the Memoirs of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, which will be mentioned more particularly.”

debt, after the failure of his concern—for he shared the common fate of inventors—and addressed to Sir Leicester Holt, requesting him to support a bill, then before Parliament, for the relief of insolvents. The original lies before me, and I make the following extract *verbatim et literatim* :—

“ ‘ SIR,—Though I have not the honour to be personally known to Sir Leicester Holt, yet as my characture and misfortunes are pretty well known to some of the gentlemen in and about Birmingham, to whom Sir Charles has vouchsafed his audience, I imagine it possible my name may have fill'd up some intervals of more agreeable conversation. But whether the mention of my name and behaviour can have done any credit to my person, Sir Leicester will judge if he has heard my case. I am the person that was the *principal agent in compiling the Spinning Engine*, though I had not the honour to wait upon Sir Leicester either of the times he was to see it.’ ” &c.

“ I have also before me two hanks of cotton-yarn spun about 1741, and wrapped in a piece of paper, on which is written the following, in the hand-writing of Mr. Wyatt:—

“ ‘ The enclosed yarn, spun by the Spinning Engine (without hands) about the year 1741. The movement was at that time turn'd by two [or more] Asses, walking round an axis in a large warehouse, near the well in the Upper Priory, in Birmingham.

“ ‘ It ow'd the condition it was then in to the superintendency of John Wyatt.

“ ‘ The above wrote June 3rd, 1756.’ ”*

* “ John Kennedy, Esq., of Manchester, well known for his scientific attainments, and many years an extensive cotton-spinner, (to whose obliging courtesy I am indebted for the loan of Mr. Wyatt's original papers, he having received them from Mr. Wyatt's son,) has pronounced the following opinion on these specimens of yarn, in a note to his paper ‘ On the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Trade,’ published in the *Memoirs of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society* in 1819. (vol. iii. of the second series, p. 137.)—‘ From examining the yarn, I think it would not be said by competent judges that it was spun by a similar machine to that of Mr. Arkwright; for the fabric or thread is very different from the early productions of Mr. Arkwright, and is, I think, evidently spun by a different machine, the ingenuity of which we cannot appreciate, as the model mentioned in the paper alluded to is unfortunately lost.’ When this was written, Mr. Kennedy had not seen the specification of Wyatt's invention, as given in Paul's patent; but when he afterwards obtained it from the Patent-Office, no doubt was left on his mind that the invention was identical in principle, though not in all its details, with the machine of Arkwright.”

WYATT'S REMARKS ON THE

"A manuscript book is remaining, composed, (as appears from internal evidence, as well as from the letter of Mr. Wyatt's son, which will shortly be quoted,) by Mr. John Wyatt, entitled, 'A Systematical Essay on the Business of spinning; or the Manufacturing of Cotton Wool into Yarn, in which the Author uses; without the intermediate application or assistance of the human fingers: wrote in the year 1743, for the purposes of its Author.' This book contains various and interesting particulars concerning the manufactory at Birmingham in 1741-2, and also concerning another manufactory, turned by water-power, at Northampton, in which Mr. Cave, the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, was the monied partner, and a Mr. Yeoman was the manager. The manuscript explains in part the failure of the undertaking, as it appears that Mr. Wyatt left the concern at Birmingham, and resided a great deal in London, endeavouring to dispose of the yarn: disorder, negligence, and mismanagement, were the natural results of the absence of the principal. Wyatt also seems to have been ignorant of the prices of yarns, and, though possessing great abilities, he may not have had the business talent requisite to make such an undertaking succeed.

"It appears from this MS. book, that Wyatt resided principally in London, in the years 1739 and 1740, during which time he was constantly inquiring about yarns; that he was at Birmingham in the beginning of 1741, observing the working of the manufactory, and that at that time Paul was one of its superintendents;* that Wyatt left Birmingham again for London, in March, 1741, but continued to take the interest of a principal in the concern; that at Michaelmas, 1743, both the concerns at Birmingham and Northampton were at work, and Wyatt was endeavouring to dispose of their yarn, and to obtain cotton wool to spin.

"From the mention made of the machinery, it appears that the work at Northampton was moved by a water-wheel; that the engines consisted of several frames, bearing 250 spindles and bobbins; that the bobbin revolved upon the

* "Some person in whose hands the MS. book has been, has taken the pains to cross out with ink the name of 'Mr. Paul,' in the only two places where it is mentioned; but by a close inspection the name may be deciphered."

spindle, and that each was moved by a separate wheel and pinion, containing, the one sixty-four teeth, and the other sixty-five.* In one part of the book, the cost of 'the bobbins, with the frame and appurtenances,' is estimated at 20s. per bobbin, and 'the wooden wheels, cards, &c.,' (including all the other tools and machines for carding, spinning, and reeling,) at 40s. per bobbin: and in another part of the book it is estimated, that '300 spindles, (with the license) could be purchased for £1,200.' Wyatt makes his calculations on the supposition of giving the yarn 'twenty twists in an inch;' and he states, that 'if the work was designed to spin the sort of forty twists per inch, it would take four times as much money to set up all such spindles, as those of twenty twists per inch.'

"The following page of Mr. Wyatt's Essay gives so much insight into the spinning establishment at Northampton, that I present a literal copy:—

"REMARKS ON MR. CAVE'S WORK AT NORTHAMPTON,
OCT. 8TH, 1743.

"1. They have spun in all about 50,000 skeins, since they first began.

"2. They spin 90 skeins per day at each *Frame*, for a day's work; at least, they call that their day's work.

"3. They have worn out but two *Pinions* since they began, and not one *wheel*.

"4. They have 5 frames up, but seldom hands to keep 4 at work.

"5. They suppose one of the *Frames* has done half the work that has been done.

"6. I don't apprehend that the *Wheels* and *Pinions* of that *Frame* are half worn out: from whence I infer, that a set of *Wheels* and *Pinions* would spin at least 35,000 skeins. That is, 100 *Wheels* and 100 *Pinions*.

"7. The rest of the work belonging to that *Frame*, taken in general, is not (in my opinion) one tenth part worn out.

* "It is probable that Wyatt adopted the idea of arranging a number of spindles, with bobbins revolving upon them, in a frame, and of turning the spindles and bobbins by distinct wheels, from the machines for throwing silk, introduced by Sir Thomas Lombe, from Italy, and set up in a large mill at Derby. The introduction of the Italian silk-throwing machinery may have set Wyatt on considering whether other materials, as cotton and wool, might not be spun by a similar apparatus. The rollers, however, find no place in the silk machines."

1. "8. Joseph Newton (a man that has always been employed in the work since it first began at Birmingham) would undertake to keep the 250 spindles in repair with his own hands; i. e. metal work, estimating at the rate they have worked.

"9. The metal itself, and the wood-work, cannot, in my opinion, exceed £30 per annum.

"10. I call the insensible decay of the Mill, Building, and Water Wheel, about £20 per annum more.

"11. The repairs of Cards, they tell me, amounts to 18d. per week: which is about equal to the wages of the Carders themselves, but much more than I think they cost at Birmingham: that is, per week.

"12. The cards, and carding, both extremely ill managed.

"13. The work never clean'd, till necessity forces a particular spindle.

"14. The dirt and cotton spread about the spinning-rooms, and the pathways near the mill, is surprising.

"15. The agent there has his wife, and two other women, to assist him; whose salaries taken together, (I am told) amounts to about £88 per annum.

"16. The Water Wheel is capable of making about 15 revolutions in a minute; but they generally flood it, in tail, till it makes but about 6 or 8 revolutions in a minute.

"17. Their picking Cotton and reeling Yarn, amounts to about 1d. per lb.

"18. They have fifty Carders, Spinners, and Supernumerary Girls in the work; whose wages, last week, amounted to £2 19s. 7d. (which I will call £3.)

"19. I apprehend they waste about one tenth part of the Cotton.

"20. The sort of Yarn they spin is about 15 skeins per lb.

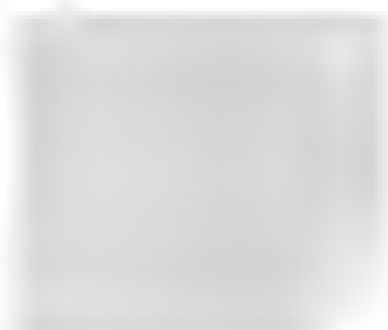
"21. Their Cards much too fine for the sort they spin.

"February, 1743-4.

"22. Since the taking of the remarks above, I have been informed by an author that I can depend upon, that they have spun half as much more in a week as they did when I was there; and that in particular the day before my letter's date, one pair of girls spun 36 skeins.

"23. That the repairs of Cards do still cost them about as much as the carders that card with them.'

"If Wyatt could have applied himself as closely to the perfecting and direction of his machinery, and to the arrangements in his mill, as Arkwright afterwards did—finding some







one to make known and dispose of his yarn—the great impetus to the cotton manufacture might have been given thirty years earlier.

“ We come now to quote the important testimony of Mr. Charles Wyatt to his father’s claims as the inventor of the spinning machine. The letter contains a highly interesting narrative, and it is characterised by a modesty and candour which do honour to the writer. This document was published in the ‘*Repertory of Arts, Manufactures, and Agriculture*,’ for January, 1818, then edited and published by his brother, Mr. J. Wyatt :—

“ ‘ *Bedford Row, November 15th, 1817.*

“ ‘ Dear Brother,

“ ‘ In compliance with your request, I send you some account of the origin of the present method of spinning by machinery, for insertion in the *Repertory of Arts and Manufactures*, which being a receptacle of useful knowledge, nothing can with more propriety fill up a part of its columns. Our chief view, however, in this is, to rescue from oblivion, and affix the gratitude of a nation upon a name dear to us, and unknown to those who are exalted, though perhaps unconsciously, by his genius: our parent, John Wyatt, of Birmingham.

“ ‘ To produce something out of nothing is a greater effort of excogitation, than to improve what is already produced.

“ ‘ The production, then, of a system of machinery to supersede the artless method of spinning with the fingers, may be justly classed among the highest efforts of mechanical combinations; and this was accomplished early in the last century, by the individual here spoken of.

“ ‘ The brief history of the invention, which my superior years, and the circumstance of my being in possession of his papers and memorandums on the subject, gives me an advantage over you, as far as I am able to trace it, is this: In the year 1730, or thereabouts, living then at a village near Litchfield, our respected father first conceived the project, and prepared to carry it into effect; and in the year 1733, by a model of about two feet square, in a small building near Sutton Coldfield, without a single witness to the performance, was spun the first thread of cotton ever produced without the intervention of the human fingers,—he, the inventor, to use his own words, ‘*being all the time in a pleasing but trembling suspense.*’ The wool had been carded in the common way, and *was passed*

MR. CHAS. WYATT'S LETTER

*two cylinders, from whence the bobbin drew it by means of
wheels.*

"This successful experiment induced him to seek for a pecu-
liar connexion equal to the views that the project excited; and
appeared to present itself with a Mr. Lewis Paul, which ter-
minated unhappily for the projector: for Paul, a foreigner, poor
praising, made offers and bargains which he never fulfilled,
died, in the year 1738, to have a patent taken out in his
name for some additional apparatus: a copy of which I send
you, and in 1741 or 1742, a mill, turned by two asses walking
on an axis, was erected at Birmingham, and ten girls were
employed in attending the work. Two hanks of the cotton then
made there spun are now in my possession, accompanied with the
inventor's own testimony of the performance. Drawings of the
machinery were sent, or appear to have been sent, to Mr. Cave, for
insertion in the Gentleman's Magazine.†

"This establishment, unsupported by sufficient property, last-
ing a short time, and then expired; the supplies were ex-
hausted, and the inventor much injured by the experiment, but his
confidence in the scheme was unimpaired. The machinery was
sold in 1743. A work upon a larger scale, on a stream of water,
was established at Northampton, under the direction of a Mr. Yeo-
men, but with the property of Mr. Cave. The work contained 250
spindles, and employed fifty pair of hands. The inventor soon
after examined the state of the undertaking, and found great defi-
ciency and neglect in the management. At that time they had
spun about 3300lbs. of cotton. On the observations which he then
made, he composed what he entitled 'A Systematic Essay on the
Business of Spinning,' which exhibits a clear view of the mechani-
cal considerations on which an undertaking of that nature, of what-
ever magnitude, must be established, and apparently confines his
humble pretensions to the profit on 300 spindles. It was not within
human foresight to calculate the richness of the harvest to come
from this little germ.

"This brings me to the conclusion of our father's connexion
with the spinning business.

"The work at Northampton did not prosper. It passed, I be-
lieve, into the possession of a Mr. Yeo, a gentleman of the law in

* "The patent, though sent for publication, was not published in the 'Repository,' and to this it is probably owing that Mr. Charles Wyatt's letter produced no effect on the public mind, being unaccompanied by the decisive proof contained in the patent itself."

† "They were not inserted."

London, about the year 1764, and, from a strange coincidence of circumstances, there is the highest probability, that the machinery got into the hands of a person, who, with the assistance of others, knowing how to apply it with skill and judgment, and to supply what might be deficient, raised upon it by a gradual accession of profit an immense establishment and a princely fortune.

“ ‘In the year 1739, my father writes to one of his friends, *‘that by this method,’* some new thought, *‘the wool need be no more carded than to break the knots or mix it well, as with scribbles or stock cards, and being thus mixed, and pressed down hard into a box, it may, without any human touch, be picked out almost hair by hair, and made into yarn.’*”

“ ‘In 1748, Mr. Paul procured another patent, the title of which was *‘for carding of wool and cotton ;’* but whether this was combined with the machinery then at Northampton, or where it was introduced, I know not. Such, or nearly such, being the early history of this invention, I thought the late Sir Richard Arkwright would be gratified by possessing the very model to which I have alluded ; and I accordingly waited on him at Cromford with the offer, but my reception did not correspond with my expectations.

“ ‘To pretend, however, that the original machinery, without addition or improvement, would alone have produced the prodigious effects which we now behold, would be claiming improbable merit for the inventor, and degrading the talents and sagacity of his successors in the same field of enterprise ; for it cannot be denied, that a great fund of ingenuity must have been expended in bringing the spinning works to their present degree of perfection. The number of spindles now in use is supposed to exceed five millions.

“ ‘If the author of the humble establishment at Birmingham gave birth to such a wonderful progeny, he ought at least to be acknowledged as a benefactor to his country, and recorded amongst the men who, from an attachment to the sciences and practice of mechanics, open the paths of knowledge, and point out, but do not pursue, those which lead to profit and prosperity.

“ ‘Connected with this subject, I might, with great propriety, point out many eminent services that he rendered the public by his mechanical talents ; but, being mostly local, and absorbed by subsequent productions, they have lost their present interest.

“ ‘The machine, however, for weighing loaded carriages, coal particularly, ought to be distinguished as one of known and extensive utility. It was solely, and exclusively, his own ; he erected the first at Birmingham, about fifty years ago, and his own de-

scription of it is, *That it would weigh a load of coal, or a pound of butter, with equal facility, and nearly equal accuracy.* The present makers admit, that the principle is incapable of improvement.

“ ‘ The late Mr. Boulton, a man too eminent and too amiable to be mentioned without esteem and regret, nor on my part without affection, set a high value both on my father’s attainments and virtues: for it was universally acknowledged, that he had the happiness to give a lustre and an interest to his genius and his knowledge, by the purest probity, the most unaffected humility, urbanity, and benevolence. He was attended to his grave, in 1766, by Mr. Boulton, Mr. Baskerville, the celebrated printer, (who, from the peculiarity of his notions, arrayed himself on this occasion, in a splendid suit of gold lace,) and four other gentlemen of eminence in Birmingham.

“ ‘ I am, dear Brother, yours affectionately,

“ ‘ CHARLES WYATT.”

“ Mr. Boulton, of Soho, Birmingham, (who is mentioned in the last paragraph,) the celebrated partner of James Watt in the manufacture of the steam-engine, had seen the spinning-machine at Birmingham when a boy, and assured Mr. Kennedy that he considered Wyatt as the inventor. I have further confirmation of this fact from Mr. Walter Henry Wyatt, of Southwark, (the grandson of Mr. John Wyatt,) who, on being applied to by me for any further evidence the family might have concerning the invention, wrote as follows:—

• “ I learn from Mr. Kennedy the fact, that this letter was published in consequence of the reading of his paper before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, ‘ On the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Trade.’ It happened that a young lady, a great-grandchild of Mr. Wyatt, was on a visit at Mr. Kennedy’s house at the time; and hearing of the subject of his paper after it had been read, and finding, on perusal of the paper, that it contained no reference whatever to her great-grandfather’s claims as the inventor of the spinning-machine, (which she knew by family tradition,) she informed her uncle, Mr. Charles Wyatt, of the fact, and he in consequence published this important letter. Mr. Kennedy copied a portion of the letter as a note to his paper, when published in the Memoirs of the above Society, but (not having seen the patent itself) he was not then, as will appear from an extract we have previously made from this Note, fully convinced that Wyatt’s machine was the original of Arkwright’s. Subsequently, the perusal of the patent of 1738, and further inquiry, have convinced him that the two machines are identical in principle.”

“‘ I am convinced of the fact of the invention being my grandfather’s, from the evidence of the late Mr. Matthew Boulton, who a short time previous to his death, called on me—the first and only time I ever saw that gentleman—and in the course of conversation upbraided, or, I may rather say, condoled with me on the neglect of his sons in claiming the invention.’

“ Having thus proved that the *principle* of Wyatt’s invention was the same as that of the spinning frame brought into use by Arkwright, I must add that the *details* of the Birmingham machine were far from being perfect, and that the machine differed greatly from Arkwright’s in its form and construction. That it was imperfect appears manifest from its having failed to become profitable. It was tried by Wyatt and Paul at Birmingham between 1738 and 1743; an engine of a similar kind was erected in the latter year at Northampton, with capital supplied by Mr. Cave; and so late as the year 1758 we find Lewis Paul taking out a new patent for the spinning machine, with some improvements; yet none of these succeeded. This lingering existence of the invention leads me to suppose that it was not uniformly unprofitable, but that the profits were small, and generally more than swallowed up by the expenses. The proprietors saw that they were in possession of a great and valuable principle; but, probably from deficiency of capital, and from the want of continued application on the part of Wyatt to the perfecting of the details, it yielded no fruit to him whose happy genius first conceived so admirable a process.

“ As the patent of 1738 contains no detailed description of the machine, and as the model spoken of by Mr. Charles Wyatt has been lost or destroyed, we cannot ascertain what was the construction of this first machine for spinning by rollers. Paul’s patent of 1758, however, may materially help us in our conjectures, especially as all the notices of the machinery contained in the MS. book above quoted seem to indicate an engine of the same kind. The latter patent is remarkably complete in its drawings and specification; and from a careful inspection of them I think it highly probable that the machine was essentially the same as the original spinning machine of 1738, but included a supposed improvement

in the mode of applying the sliver of cotton to the rollers, consequent upon Paul's improvement in the carding process, hereafter to be described.

“ The specification of the patent of 1758 * contains the following general description of the process :—

“ ‘ The wooll or cotton to be spun by the said machine or engine must be first carded upon a card made up of a number of parallel cards, with intervening spaces between each ; and the matter so carded must be taken off each card separately. The several rows or fillaments so taken off must be connected into one entire roll, which, being put between a pair of rollers or cylinders, is by their turning round delivered to the nose of a spindle, in such proportion to the thread made as is proper for the particular occasions. From hence it is delivered to a bobbin, spole, or quill, which turns upon the spindle, and which gathers up the thread or yarn as it is spun. The spindle is so contrived as to draw faster than the rollers or cylinders give, in proportion to the length of thread or yarn into which the matter to be spun is proposed to be drawn.’

“ It should be observed, that this machine contains only one pair of rollers : the patent of 1738 expressly describes two pairs, the second moving faster than the first : but it adds that in some cases only the first pair of rollers was used. In the second patent, the upper roller was called the ‘ riband cylinder,’ from the sliver, or carding, being wound upon it by means of a riband : as the cylinder turned, the sliver came off, was compressed between the two cylinders, and then, being delivered to the nose of the spindle, was at once drawn out, (so as to reduce it in thickness,) twisted into a thread, and wound upon the bobbin. The interior of the machine contained much ingenious and complex wheel-work ;—the larger wheels being of wood, and the smaller of metal, finished like clock-work : the whole was moved by the upright shaft in the centre, which was turned by the water-wheel.

“ A comparison of this machine with that of Arkwright, shows that there is a great difference in the construction of the two.

* “ In this specification, the patentee is styled ‘ Lewis Paul, of Kensington Gravel Pitts, in the county of Middlesex, Esquire.’ One of the witnesses is Mr. Thomas Yeo ; probably the same gentleman into whose hands Mr. Charles Wyatt states that the work at Northampton passed about the year 1764.”

So far is the one from being a copy of the other, that that of Arkwright indicates great inventive talent, even if we suppose that he had seen the former machine; but the mechanical details of the two have so little in common, that I am induced to think, contrary to the opinion of Mr. Charles Wyatt, that Arkwright had not seen the machine of Wyatt or Paul. It must, however, be admitted, that to contrive and adjust the details of such a machine, though of the greatest practical importance, is a merit very subordinate to that of him who conceived the great principle. The latter is the glory of Wyatt. How much Arkwright owed to his predecessor can only be matter of conjecture; that he thus learnt the principle of spinning by rollers, I am convinced; and, as will soon appear, another individual besides Wyatt puts in his claim to precedence of Arkwright. The latter unquestionably knew of the attempts to spin cotton by machinery at Birmingham and Northampton, and of *the patent* of 1738, which describes the two pairs of rollers, as he himself declares as much in the 'Case' which he drew up to be presented to parliament in 1782. He says—'About 40 or 50 years ago, one Paul, and others, of London, invented an engine for spinning of cotton, and obtained a patent for such invention; afterwards they removed to Northampton and other places. They spent many years and much money in the undertaking, but without success; and many families who had engaged with them were reduced to poverty and distress.'

"Arkwright, therefore, knew the history of Paul and Wyatt, and knew of the patent; and though it is not certain that he had this knowledge before he constructed his own machine, yet the fact of his possessing it at a later period strengthens the probability of his having, at least, heard of the machine for spinning by rollers, before he made his own. This conjecture is still further favoured by the repulse which he gave to Mr. Charles Wyatt, when the latter waited upon him with the original model of the spinning machine.*

"I have compared the doubts which hang over the history

* "When I first read the patent of 1738, I was so struck with its exact description of the process of spinning by two pairs of rollers, one pair moving faster than the other, that I too hastily concluded the machine thus generally described.

of the cotton spinning inventions, with those in which the origin of that still nobler art, the art of printing, is involved. The claims of Wyatt are indeed nearly as well established as those of Gutenberg; and Paul may have been auxiliary to the first cotton spinner, as Faust was to the first printer. Yet, as a claim is set up for Lawrence Coster to the invention of types and printing, and supported by evidence which it is difficult wholly to invalidate or to account for; so there is another claimant (besides Arkwright) to the honour of inventing the spinning rollers, whose pretensions ought not to be treated with contempt. I allude to Thomas Highs,* reed maker, of Leigh, (near Bolton,) whose claims have been maintained with great zeal by Mr. Guest, in his *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, and his *Reply* to an article in the *Edinburgh Review*. This author contends that Highs was the inventor not only of the water-frame brought into use by Arkwright, but also, a few years earlier, of the jenny, a spinning machine on a different principle, commonly ascribed to James Hargreaves.† As I have been led by the order of events first to discuss the invention of spinning by rollers, I shall at present confine my remarks to the evidence that such a mode of spinning was devised by Highs, and shall afterwards return to the history of the spinning jenny.

“In the trial which took place, in the court of King’s Bench, on the 25th of June, 1785, to try the validity of Mr. Arkwright’s patent, Highs gave evidence to the following effect:—That he himself made rollers, for the purpose of spinning cotton, in the year 1767, (Arkwright’s first patent being only taken out in 1769;) that in his machine there were two pairs of rollers, the second revolving five times as fast as the first; that this was for the purpose of drawing the thread finer;

to be the original of Arkwright’s, not only in principle, but in its construction and details. An attentive consideration of the machine for which a patent was obtained in 1758, and of Wyatt’s incidental notices of the first machine in his *M.S. Essay on the Business of Spinning*, together with a comparison between these and the machine of Arkwright, considerably modified my opinion.”

* “In Arkwright’s Trial, and in several other works, the name is spelt *Hays*; but Mr. Guest says it is written *Highs* in Leigh church register, and is so pronounced by his family and the neighbourhood.”—*Reply*, p. 18.

† “Guest’s *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, pp. 12, 16.”

that it was used both to spin and to rove ; that he at first only used two spindles ; that he did not follow up his invention, from the want of pecuniary means, but intended to keep it secret till he could procure assistance. He stated, that he communicated his invention to one Kay, a clock-maker, whose aid he required to make him a small model of the machine with brass wheels. He also added, that, having once met Arkwright at Manchester, after the latter had taken out his patent for the water-frame, he (Higs) reproached him with having got his invention, which Arkwright did not deny.

“ In confirmation of Higs's claim, John Kay, the clock-maker,* gave evidence to the court, that he made the wheels and rollers for Higs at the time alleged ; that he the same year, or early in the year following, communicated the plan to Arkwright, who was then a poor man, and, at his request, he made him two models ; that Arkwright engaged him (Kay) to accompany him, first to Preston, and afterwards to Nottingham, where he remained in his service four or five years, and then quitted him, having been unjustly accused of felony. Kay's wife spoke generally to the same facts, but with so much vagueness, and such an utter confusion of dates, that her testimony cannot be relied upon.

“ The claim thus distinctly made by Higs, and supported by Kay, is stated by Mr. Guest to be generally received as true in Leigh, the town where Higs resided. Mr. Bearcroft, the counsel against Arkwright on the trial, said the same thing in 1785 : ‘ It is a notorious story (said he) in the manufacturing counties ; all men that have seen Mr. Arkwright in a state of opulence, have shaken their heads, and thought of these poor men, Higs and Kay, and have thought too that they were entitled to some participation of the profits.’ The fact that the clockmaker, who had made wheels for Higs, was taken by Arkwright to Nottingham, and kept there for some years, affords considerable confirmation to the story. Nor can any motive be conceived why

* “ According to Mr. Guest, Kay lived at Leigh when he was employed by Higs, but soon afterwards removed to Warrington, where he dwelt when Arkwright called upon him.—Hist. of the Cotton Manufacture, p. 17.—This is confirmed by the statement of Thomas Leather, and other old persons, who knew Kay when living at Leigh.”

Kay should falsely set up a claim for a poor man like Highs, unable to bribe him. It is also stated by those who personally knew Highs, that he was a conscientious and religious man, very unlikely to perjure himself. His mechanical ingenuity is proved by his having exchanged his original trade of a reed-maker for that of a maker of spinning machines; and also by two facts stated by Mr. Guest, namely, that he received a present of two hundred guineas from the manufacturers of Manchester, in 1772, for a very ingenious invention of a double jenny, which was publicly exhibited in the Exchange; and that he afterwards went to construct spinning machines at Nottingham, Kidderminster, and in Ireland.*

"It must be admitted, however, that there are circumstances of great weight to oppose to the claim of Highs. He not only took out no patent, (which his circumstances prevented,) but he never completed any machine, so as to set it on work, till long after Arkwright had obtained his patent. He never publicly laid claim to the invention till 1785,† eighteen years after he is said to have made the machine. He never showed the model made for him by Kay, in proof of his being the inventor. No witness but Kay speaks to his having made such a machine. No document attests it. Dr. Aikin and Mr. Guest are the only authors who assert it.‡

* "Guest's Reply, pp. 203, 205, 206. Dr. Aikin also says—'The roller upon which Mr. Hey's (Highs's) spindle-strings ran was immediately adopted after his public exhibition of it; his contrivance also of slipping his handle from a square to a round, which checked the operation of spinning, and pushing on to an interior contrivance to wind up the spun thread, is adopted in the machines for spinning of twist.'—Hist. of Manchester, p. 171."

† "Highs and Kay were, however, in attendance at a previous trial in 1781, when Arkwright brought an action against Colonel Mordaunt for the invasion of his patent; but they were not called upon to give evidence, the plaintiff being defeated on another ground. See Mr. Erskine's statement on the trial in 1785.—Trial, p. 66."

‡ "Dr. Aikin appears to have taken his account from the evidence of Highs and Kay on the trial. Highs's claim is not mentioned by Mr. Kennedy, by Mr. Dugald Bannatyne, author of the able article on the 'Cotton Manufacture,' in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, or by the author of the article on the same subject in Rees's Encyclopædia; and it is strenuously controverted by Mr. McCulloch, in his article on the 'Rise, Progress, Present State, and Prospects of the British Cotton Manufacture,' in No. 91 of the Edinburgh Review."

Kay, the only witness besides Highs himself, had quarrelled with and quitted Arkwright, and was therefore prejudiced against him ; to say nothing of the charge of felony, as to the truth of which there is no evidence.

“ Such a case is far from satisfactory. It is possible that the imperfect invention of Highs included the principles of the water-frame ; but if so, it is remarkable that the evidence of it should be so scanty and defective. When it is considered, too, how many projects have floated through the brains or perished in the hands of inventors, we naturally require strong proof in support of Highs’s claims to this important invention. Still there is some evidence, which it is difficult to dispose of. The case becomes more perplexed when it is remembered that a machine on the same principle as that which was unfinished in the hands of Highs, had beyond all question been completed, made the subject of a patent, and set to work thirty years before by Wyatt.

“ One conjecture may furnish a clew to extricate us from the labyrinth : it is possible that Highs may have heard the rumour of Wyatt’s invention, may have imitated it, and may thus have become the channel through which the knowledge of the invention was conveyed to Arkwright.

“ In pursuing the history of spinning by rollers, we come now to the successful introduction of that invention by Sir Richard Arkwright, who, though not entitled to all the merit which has been claimed for him, possessed very high inventive talent, as well as an unrivalled sagacity in estimating at their true value the mechanical contrivances of others, in combining them together, perfecting them, arranging a complete series of machinery, and constructing the factory system— itself a vast and admirable machine, which has been the source of great wealth, both to individuals and to the nation.

“ Richard Arkwright rose by the force of his natural talents from a very humble condition in society. He was born at Preston on the 23rd of December, 1732, of poor parents: being the youngest of thirteen children, his parents could only afford to give him an education of the humblest kind, and he was scarcely able to write. He was brought up to the trade of a barber at Kirkham and Preston, and established himself in that business at Bolton in the year 1760.

Having become possessed of a chemical process for dyeing human hair,* which in that day (when wigs were universal) was of considerable value, he travelled about collecting hair, and again disposing of it when dyed. In 1761, he married a wife from Leigh, and the connexions he thus formed in that town are supposed to have afterwards brought him acquainted with Highs's experiments in making spinning machines. He himself manifested a strong bent for experiments in mechanics, which he is stated to have followed with so much devotedness as to have neglected his business and injured his circumstances. His natural disposition was ardent, enterprising, and stubbornly persevering: his mind was as coarse as it was bold and active, and his manners were rough and unpleasing.

“In 1767, Arkwright fell in with Kay, a clockmaker, at Warrington, whom he employed to bend him some wires, and turn him some pieces of brass. From this it would seem that Arkwright was then experimenting in mechanics; and it has been said, that he was endeavouring to produce perpetual motion.† He entered into conversation with the clockmaker, and called upon him repeatedly; and at length Kay, according to his own account, told him of Highs's scheme of spinning by rollers. Kay adds, in his evidence, that Arkwright induced him to make a model of Highs's machine, and took it away. It is certain that from this period Arkwright abandoned his former business, and devoted himself to the construction of the spinning machine; and also, that he persuaded Kay to go with him first to Preston, and afterwards to Nottingham, binding him in a bond to serve him at a certain rate of wages for a stipulated term. The particulars of what passed between Arkwright and Kay rest wholly on the evidence of the latter; but there is no doubt that Kay was thus engaged to accompany Arkwright, and that he worked for him some time at Nottingham. Those who believe in the invention of Highs find in this fact, combined with Highs's own evidence, a very strong presumption in its favour: but

* “I have no means of knowing whether this secret was a discovery of his own, or was communicated to him. Mr. Guest says he ‘possessed’ the secret; Mr. McCulloch, that he ‘discovered’ it.”

† “Aikin and Enfield's General Biography, Vol. I. p. 391.”

those who disbelieve it may adopt the conjecture, that Arkwright, not being a practical mechanic, engaged the clock-maker to construct the apparatus he had himself contrived. The statement of Arkwright, in the 'Case' drawn up to be submitted to Parliament, was, that 'after many years' intense and painful application, he invented, about the year 1768, his present method of spinning cotton, but upon very different principles from any invention that had gone before it.' It is true that Arkwright had been experimenting in mechanics, but there is no evidence to show that he had ever thought of making a spinning machine before his interview with Kay at Warrington.

"Kay appears not to have been able to make the whole machine, and therefore 'he and Arkwright applied to Mr. Peter Atherton, afterwards of Liverpool,' (then probably an instrument maker at Warrington,) 'to make the spinning engine; but from the poverty of Arkwright's appearance, Mr. Atherton refused to undertake it, though afterwards, on the evening of the same day, he agreed to lend Kay a smith and watch-tool maker, to make the heavier part of the engine, and Kay undertook to make the clockmaker's part of it, and instruct the workman. In this way Mr. Arkwright's first engine, for which he afterwards took out a patent, was made.'*

"Being altogether destitute of pecuniary means for prosecuting his invention, Arkwright repaired to his native place, Preston, and applied to a friend, Mr. John Smalley, a liquor-merchant and painter, for assistance. The famous contested election, at which General Burgoyne was returned, occurring during his visit, Arkwright voted; but the wardrobe of the future knight was in so tattered a condition, that a number of persons subscribed to put him into decent plight to appear at the poll-room. His spinning machine was fitted up in the parlour of the house belonging to the Free Grammar School, which was lent by the head-master to Mr. Smalley for the purpose.† The latter was so well convinced of the utility of the machine, that he joined Arkwright with heart and purse.

* "Aikin and Enfield's 'General Biography,' Vol. 1. p. 391. The authors profess to have obtained some of these facts from private sources; and Dr. Aikin's opportunities were good, as he resided at Warrington."

† "These facts are stated on the authority of Nicholas Grimshaw, Esq., several times mayor of Preston, who has personal knowledge of them."

“ In consequence of the riots which had taken place in the neighbourhood of Blackburn, on the invention of Hargreaves's spinning jenny in 1767, by which many of the machines were destroyed, and the inventor was driven from his native county to Nottingham, Arkwright and Smalley, fearing similar outrages directed against their machine, went also to Nottingham, accompanied by Kay. This town, therefore, became the cradle of two of the greatest inventions in cotton spinning. Here the adventurers applied for pecuniary aid to Messrs. Wright, bankers, who made advances on condition of sharing in the profits of the invention. But as the machine was not perfected so soon as they had anticipated, the bankers requested Arkwright to obtain other assistance, and recommended him to Mr. Samuel Need, of Nottingham. This gentleman was the partner of Mr. Jedediah Strutt, of Derby,* the ingenious improver and patentee of the stocking-frame; and Mr. Strutt having seen Arkwright's machine, and declared it to be an admirable invention, only wanting an adaptation of some of the wheels to each other, both Mr. Need and Mr. Strutt entered into partnership with Arkwright.

“ Thus the pecuniary difficulties of this enterprising and persevering man were terminated. He soon made his machine practicable, and in 1769 he took out a patent. In the specification, which was enrolled on the 15th July in that year, he stated that he “ had by great study and long application invented a new piece of machinery, never before found out, practised, or used, for the making of weft or yarn from cotton, flax, and wool ; which would be of great utility to a great many manufacturers, as well as to his Majesty's subjects in general, by employing a great number of poor people in working the said machinery, and by making the said weft or yarn much

* “ Mr. Strutt was brought up a farmer, but, having a passion for improvements and a mechanical genius, he succeeded in adapting the stocking-frame to the manufacture of ribbed stockings, for which improvement he obtained a patent. He established an extensive manufacture of ribbed stockings at Derby, and, after his connexion with Mr. Arkwright, he erected cotton works at Milford, near Belper : he raised his family to great wealth. Some of the circumstances connected with Arkwright's settling at Nottingham, were communicated by the late Mr. William Strutt, the highly gifted and ingenious son of Mr. Jedediah Strutt, to the editor of the *Beauties of England and Wales*.” See vol. iii. pp. 518, 541.

superior in quality to any ever heretofore manufactured or made."

"The importance of this machine requires that Arkwright's own description of it in his specification should be given: it is as follows:—

" ' Now know ye that I, the said Richard Arkwright, do hereby describe and ascertain the nature of my said invention, and declare that the plan thereof drawn in the margin of these presents is composed of the following particulars, (that is to say) A, the Cogg Wheel and Shaft, which receive their motion from a horse. B, the Drum or Wheel which turns C, a belt of leather, and gives motion to the whole machine. D, a lead weight, which keeps F, the small drum, steady to E, the forcing Wheel. G, the shaft of wood which gives motion to the Wheel H, and continues it to I, four pair of Rollers, (the form of which are drawn in the margin,) which act by tooth and pinion made of brass and steel nuts fixt in two iron plates K. That part of the roller which the cotton runs through is covered with wood, the top Roller with leather, and the bottom one fluted, which lets the Cotton, &c. through it; by one pair of Rollers moving quicker than the other, draws it finer for twisting, which is performed by the spindles T. K, the two iron plates described above. L, four large Bobbins with cotton rovings on, conducted between Rollers at the back. M, the four threads carried to the Bobbins and Spindles by four small wires fixt across the frame in the slip of wood V. N, iron leavers with small lead weights hanging to the Rollers by Pulleys, which keep the Rollers close to each other. O, a cross piece of wood to which the leavers are fixed. P, the Bobbins and Spindles. Q, Flyers made of wood, with small wires on the side, which lead the thread to the bobbins. R, small worsted bands put about the whirl of the bobbins, the screwing of which tight or easy causes the bobbins to wind up the thread faster or slower. S, the four whirls of the spindles. T, the four Spindles, which run in iron plates. V, explained in letter M. W, a wooden frame of the whole machine.' "

"Such is the original of the present water-frame and throstle. It was afterwards greatly improved by Arkwright himself; and, when horse-power was exchanged for water-power, the number of spindles in the frame was multiplied. The original machine was adapted only to perform the last operation in spinning, namely, reducing the rovings into yarn; but it was easily applicable to the process of roving itself, as

will subsequently appear. It is remarkable that the inventor, in his application for a patent, described himself as 'Richard Arkwright, of Nottingham, clockmaker.'^{*} He and his partners erected a mill at Nottingham, which was driven by horses; but this mode of turning the machinery being found too expensive, they built another mill on a much larger scale at Cromford, in Derbyshire, which was turned by a water wheel, and from this circumstance the spinning machine was called the *water-frame*.

"The difficulty, delay, and expense which attended the completing of the invention, prove, at the very least, that Arkwright did not receive it from any other person a *perfect machine*. If he had seen either Wyatt's machine, or the model of that of Higgs, he had still to perfect the details; and the determined assiduity and confidence with which he devoted himself to this undertaking, before the machine had ever been made to answer, show that he had sufficient mechanical capacity to appreciate its value, and sufficient talent and energy to make the invention practicable and profitable.

"Having completed the history of the great invention of spinning by rollers, it will be proper, before proceeding to describe the further progress of Arkwright in combining and improving the cotton machinery, to go back in the order of time, and to mention another invention for the purpose of spinning, which came into use before the water-frame, and which, though very different in its principle, almost rivalled that machine in utility. The great demand for yarn, while the one-thread wheel was the only instrument for spinning, set other wits on contriving a substitute for it, besides those of Wyatt, Higgs, and Arkwright.

"We learn from the 'Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce,' that in 1783 the society had in its repositories models of the following spinning machines: 'A Spinning Wheel, by Mr. John Webb, invented 1761. A Spinning Wheel, by Mr. Thomas Perrin, 1761. A Horizontal Spinning Wheel, by Mr. Wm. Harrison, 1764. A Spinning Wheel, by Mr. Perrin, 1765. A

* "This was certainly an untrue description, and Mr. Guest remarks upon it, that Arkwright 'did not scruple to masquerade in the character and trade of John Kay.'"—Reply, p. 58.

Spinning Wheel by Mr. Garrat, 1766. A Spinning Wheel by Mr. Garrat, 1767.* Between the establishment of the society in 1754 and the year 1783, it distributed £544 12s. in premiums 'for improving several machines used in manufactures, viz. the comb-pot, cards for wool and cotton, stocking frame, loom, machines for winding and doubling, and spinning wheels.'† None of these inventions of spinning machines, however, succeeded. The compiler of the Transactions, writing in 1783, says, 'From the best information hitherto obtained, it appears, that about the year 1764, a poor man, of the name of Hargreaves, employed in the cotton manufactory near Blackburn, in Lancashire, first made a machine in that county, which spun eleven threads; and that in the year 1770 he obtained a patent for the invention. The construction of this kind of machine, called a *Spinning Jenny*, has since been much improved, and is now at so high a degree of perfection, that one woman is thereby enabled with ease to spin a hundred threads of cotton at a time.'‡

"James Hargreaves, a weaver of Stand-hill, near Blackburn, was the author of the admirable invention noticed in this extract.|| It has been generally supposed that the date

* "Transactions of the Society of Arts, vol. i. pp. 314, 315."

† "Ibid. vol. i. p. 26."

‡ "Ibid. vol. i. pp. 33, 34."

|| "Mr. Guest prefers a claim on the part of Thomas Highs, of Leigh, to the invention of the spinning-jenny, as well as of the water-frame. After attentively considering the evidence adduced, I am of opinion that it is quite insufficient to establish the claim. At the trial on Arkwright's patent, when Highs was examined pretty largely as to his inventions, he did not even allude to the jenny, which it is almost certain he would, to prove his great inventive talent, had he been the inventor. It is true that two men, named Thomas Leather and Thomas Wilkinson, the one 69 and the other 75 years old when their evidence was taken, stated in 1823 and 1827, that they knew Highs, and that he made a spinning-jenny about the year 1763 or 1764. The former also stated, that the machine was called *jenny* after Highs's daughter Jane; and there is ample evidence that Highs had a daughter of that name. It is added, that Kay, the clockmaker, assisted in the construction of this machine, as well as in that of the water-frame. The last-mentioned circumstance leads me to the belief that the witnesses have confounded the two inventions. Moreover, as Highs undoubtedly made jennies at a later period, and also invented a double jenny with some new apparatus, this fact may have given rise to the belief that he was the original inventor. The recollections of two aged men, concerning precise dates, after the lapse of sixty years, and concerning the precise form of a machine seen by them in mere boyhood, are little to be relied upon, especially for the purpose of overturning the claims of a most ingenious man, the patentee of the invention, and whose inventions were never disputed till the

of the invention was 1767, not 1764: and Arkwright, in his 'Case,' states the machine to have been made in 1767. It is, however, in the highest degree probable, that the jenny would not be at once perfected: its construction would probably occupy the author, who was a poor man, and had to work for his daily bread, some years: and as Hargreaves went to Nottingham in 1768, before which time his machine had not only been perfected, but its extraordinary powers so clearly proved, notwithstanding his efforts to keep it secret, as to expose him to persecution and the attacks of a mob, I am strongly disposed to think that the invention was conceived, and that the author began to embody it, as early as 1764.

"Hargreaves, though illiterate and humble, must be regarded as one of the greatest inventors and improvers in the cotton manufacture. His principal invention, and one which showed high mechanical genius, was the jenny. The date of this invention was some years before Arkwright obtained the patent for his water frame; and it differs so completely from that machine, and from Wyatt's, that there can be no suspicion of its being other than a perfectly original invention.

"It may be necessary to explain to some readers, that the cotton was formerly, and is still, reduced from the state of the fleecy roll called a carding, into the state of spun thread, by repeated, though similar operations: the first draws out the carding, and gives it a very slight twist, so as to make it into a loose thread, about the thickness of a candle-wick, in which state it is called a roving or slubbin; the subsequent processes draw out the roving much finer, and at length reduce it into yarn. Hargreaves's jenny, like Arkwright's machine, was intended to spin the roving into yarn; but it was not, like Arkwright's, capable of being applied to the preparation of the roving itself. Hargreaves is said to have received the original idea of his machine from seeing a one-thread wheel overturned upon the floor, when both the wheel

appearance of Mr. Guest's book. High, however, has a third claim as an inventor: he stated, on Arkwright's patent trial, that he made a *perpetual carding* in the year 1773, which was before any other person did the same thing. It is certain that he was an extremely ingenious man, and he continued to make spinning machines till he was disabled by a stroke of the palsy, about the year 1790. He was supported in his old age by the liberality of Peter Drinkwater, Esq., of Manchester, and others, and died on the 13th December, 1803, aged eighty-four years."

and the spindle continued to revolve.* The spindle was thus thrown from a horizontal into an upright position; and the thought seems to have struck him, that if a number of spindles were placed upright, and side by side, several threads might be spun at once. He contrived a frame, in one part of which he placed eight rovings in a row, and in another part a row of eight spindles. The rovings, when extended to the spindles, passed between two horizontal bars of wood, forming a clasp, which opened and shut somewhat like a parallel ruler; when pressed together, this clasp held the threads fast. A certain portion of roving being extended from the spindles to the wooden clasp, the clasp was closed, and was then drawn along the horizontal frame to a considerable distance from the spindles, by which the threads were lengthened out, and reduced to the proper tenuity; this was done with the spinner's left hand, and his right hand at the same time turned a wheel, which caused the spindles to revolve rapidly, and thus the roving was spun into yarn. By returning the clasp to its first situation, and letting down a presser wire, the yarn was wound upon the spindle.

“ With this admirable machine, though at first rudely constructed, Hargreaves and his family spun weft for his own weaving. Aware of the value of the invention, but not extending his ambition to a patent, he kept it as secret as possible for a time, and used it merely in his own business. A machine of such powers could not, however, be long concealed; but when it became the subject of rumour, instead of gaining for its author admiration and gratitude, the spinners raised an outcry that it would throw multitudes out of employment, and a mob broke into Hargreaves's house, and destroyed his jenny. So great was the persecution he suffered, and the danger in which he was placed, that this victim of popular ignorance was compelled to flee his native county, as the inventor of the fly-shuttle had been before him. Thus the neighbourhood where the machine was invented, lost the benefit of it, yet without preventing its general adoption;—the common and appropriate punishment of the ignorance and selfishness which oppose mechanical improvements.

* “ Rees's Cyclopædia, and Encyclopædia Britannica, art. ‘ Cotton Manufacture.’ ”

"Hargreaves retired to Nottingham in 1768, where he entered into partnership with Mr. Thomas James, a joiner, who raised sufficient money to enable them to erect a small mill. He took out a patent for the jenny in 1770, the year after Arkwright had obtained his patent at the same place. The patent was "for a method of making a wheel or engine of an entire new construction, and never before made use of, in order for spinning, drawing, and twisting of cotton, and to be managed by one person only, and that the wheel or engine will spin, draw, or twist, *sixteen* or more threads at one time, by a turn or motion of one hand, and a draw of the other." The following is the inventor's description of the process:— 'One person, with his or her right hand turns the wheel, and with the left hand takes hold of the clasps, and therewith draws out the cotton from the slubbin box; and, being twisted by the turn of the wheel in the drawing out, then a piece of wood is lifted up by the toe, which lets down a presser wire, so as to press the threads so drawn out and twisted, in order to wind or put the same regularly upon bobbins which are placed on the spindles.' The number of spindles in the jenny was at first eight: when the patent was obtained, it was sixteen; it soon came to be twenty or thirty; and no less than one hundred and twenty have since been used.

"Before quitting Lancashire, Hargreaves had made a few jennies for sale;* and the importance of the invention being universally appreciated, the interests of the manufacturers and weavers brought it into general use, in spite of all opposition. A desperate effort was, however, made in 1779—probably in a period of temporary distress—to put down the machine. A mob rose, and scoured the country for several miles round Blackburn, demolishing the jennies, and with them all the carding engines, water-frames, and every machine turned by water or horses. It is said that the rioters spared the jennies which had only twenty spindles, as these were by this time admitted to be useful; but those with a greater number, being considered mischievous, were destroyed, or cut down to the prescribed dimensions. It may

* "It is mentioned by Mr. Kennedy, that Crompton, the inventor of the mule, 'learnt to spin upon a jenny of Hargreaves's make,' in 1769."

seem strange, that not merely the working classes, but even the middle and upper classes, entertained a great dread of machinery. Not perceiving the tendency of any invention which improved and cheapened the manufacture, to cause an extended demand for its products, and thereby to give employment to more hands than it superseded, those classes were alarmed lest the poor-rates should be burdened with workmen thrown idle. They therefore connived at, and even actually joined in, the opposition to machinery, and did all in their power to screen the rioters from punishment.* This devastating outrage left effects more permanent than have usually resulted from such commotions. Spinners, and other capitalists, were driven from the neighbourhood of Blackburn to Manchester and other places, and it was many years before cotton-spinning was resumed at Blackburn. Mr. Peel, the grandfather of the present Sir Robert Peel, a skilful and enterprising spinner and calico printer, having had his machinery at Altham thrown into the river, and been in personal danger from the fury of the mob, retired in disgust to Burton, in Staffordshire, where he built a cotton-mill on the banks of the Trent, and remained there some years. A large mill, built by Arkwright, at Birkacre, near Chorley, was destroyed by a mob, in the presence of a powerful body of police and military, without any of the civil authorities requiring their interference to prevent the outrage.†

“ The two important inventions for spinning, of which the history has been traced, broke down the barrier which had so long obstructed the advance of the cotton manufacture. The new machines not only turned off a much greater quantity of yarn than had before been produced, but the yarn was also of a superior quality. The water-frame spun a hard and firm thread, calculated for warps; and from this time the warps of linen yarn were abandoned, and goods were, for the first time in this country, woven wholly of cotton. Manufactures of a finer and more delicate fabric were also introduced,

* “ An honourable exception to this folly was found in the conduct of Dornier Rasbotham, Esq., a magistrate near Bolton, who published a sensible address to the weavers and spinners, in which he endeavoured to convince them that it was for their interest to encourage inventions for abridging labour.”

† Edinburgh Review, No. xci. p. 14.

especially calicoes, imitated from the Indian fabrics of that name. The jenny was peculiarly adapted for spinning west; so that the two machines, instead of coming in conflict, were brought into use together. The spirit of invention and improvement, fully aroused by the proof which had now been given of the powers of mechanical combination, operated with extraordinary vigour; and amongst the numberless schemes and experiments tried in the workshops of Lancashire, not a few contrivances of real value were discovered, to perfect the various machines.

“ The cotton manufacture, for some years after the great impulse was given to it, continued to move with comparative slowness. The power was applied, but it required time to overcome the *vis inertiae* of society. Five years were requisite before Arkwright himself began to receive a profit. It needed other examples of success, to attract capital in a full stream to this employment. In the five years ending with 1775, the average import of cotton wool into Great Britain did not exceed 4,764,589 lbs. a year; only four times as much as the average import at the beginning of the century.

“ The machinery was still, however, very imperfect, especially in the preparation of the cotton for the spinning-frame. But in this, as in other departments, the manufacturers were on the alert for improvement. The important process of *carding* was about this time brought to perfection. On this subject we must go back a little in our history.

“ Carding is the process to which the cotton is subjected after it has been opened and cleaned, in order that the fibres of the wool may be disentangled, straightened, and laid parallel with each other, so as to admit of being spun. This was formerly effected by instruments called hand-cards, which were brushes made of short pieces of wire, instead of bristles; the wires being stuck into a sheet of leather, at a certain angle, and the leather fastened on a flat piece of wood, about twelve inches long and five wide, with a handle. The cotton being spread upon one of the cards, it was repeatedly combed with another till all the fibres were laid straight, when it was stripped off the card in a fleecy roll ready for the rover. The first improvement was in making one of the two cards a fixture, and increasing its size; so that a workman,

[REDACTED]







having spread the cotton upon it, might use a card double the size of the old cards, and do twice the quantity of work. The process was further facilitated by suspending the moveable card by a pulley from the ceiling, with a weight to balance it, so that the workman had only to move the card, without sustaining its weight. The stock-cards, as they were called, had been previously used in the woollen manufacture: at what period they were introduced into the cotton manufacture, I have not satisfactorily ascertained. It has been said that James Hargreaves, the inventor of the jenny, first applied them, with some improvement of his own, to the carding of cotton; but it will be seen by the letter of Mr. Charles Wyatt, that John Wyatt, the inventor of spinning by rollers, spoke of cotton being carded with stock-cards in 1739.

“ The application of rotatory motion was the grand improvement in carding; and this improvement, singular as it may seem, is traced back to Lewis Paul, the patentee of spinning by rollers.

“ The carding patent of Lewis Paul,* of the 30th August, 1748, a copy of which, with the drawings, I have obtained from the Patent Office, includes two different machines for accomplishing the same purpose; the one a flat, and the other a cylindrical arrangement of cards. The following description in the specification applies equally to both:— ‘ The said machine for carding of wool and cotton, &c. does consist and is to be performed in the manner following, to wit: The card is made up of a number of parallel cards, with intervening spaces between each, and the matter being carded thereon, is afterwards took off each card separately, and the several rows or filliments of wool or cotton so took off, are connected in one entire roll.’ The first machine described in the specification consists of a flat board, varying

* In this patent, he thus describes himself, — “ I, Lewis Paul, of Birmingham, gentleman;” from which it would appear that he was still living at Birmingham. Whether he yet carried on spinning in that town, or whether, as Mr. Kennedy supposes, he was connected with the concern at Northampton, I cannot learn. This remarkable man, of whom so little is known, except the surprising inventions for which he obtained patents, lived at Birmingham in 1738 and 1748, and at Kensington, near London, in 1758.

in dimensions from three feet by two, to two feet by fourteen inches, on which were nailed sixteen long cards, parallel to each other, with small spaces betwixt each. The wool or cotton being spread on the cards, a hand-card, of the same length as those nailed on the board, but only a quarter of the breadth, and completely covered with points of wire, was drawn over the lower cards till the operation was completed.

"The second and more important machine was a horizontal cylinder, covered in its whole circumference with parallel rows of cards, with intervening spaces, and turned by a handle. Under the cylinder was a concave frame, lined internally with cards, exactly fitting the lower half of the cylinder; so that, when the handle was turned, the cards of the cylinder and of the concave frame worked against each other, and carded the wool. This bears the closest resemblance to the modern carding cylinder, except that the concave frame is now placed *over* the cylinder, and in Paul's machine it was placed *under*. There was a contrivance for letting the concave part down by a lever and pulley, and turning it round, so as easily to strip off the carded wool.

"When the wool was properly carded, it was stripped off, 'by means of a stick, with needles in it, parallel to one another, like the teeth of a comb.' The cardings were of course only of the length of the cylinder, but an ingenious apparatus was attached for making them into a perpetual carding. Each length was placed on a flat broad riband, which was extended between two short cylinders, and which wound upon one cylinder as it unwound from the other. When the carding was placed on the riband, the turning of one of the cylinders wound the riband and carding upon it; and, length being joined to length, the carding was made perpetual, and wound up in a roll, ready for the spinning machine. It has already been seen that the upper roller in Paul's patent spinning machine of 1758 was called the 'riband cylinder.'

"Here, then, are the carding cylinder, the perpetual carding, and the comb for stripping off the carding. It must be admitted, that the invention was admirable and beautiful, though not perfect. Its defects were,—that the cylinder had

no feeder, the wool being put on by the hand,—that the cardings were taken off separately by a moveable comb, which of course required the machine to stop,—and that the perpetual carding was produced by joining short lengths with the hand, whereas now it is brought off the machine in a continuous roll, by a comb attached to the cylinder, and constantly worked against it by a crank. Paul's machine, though so great an improvement on the old method, was not known in Lancashire for twelve years, nor generally adopted for more than twenty years after the date of the patent.

“Thus the two most important and admirable inventions in cotton spinning, the carding by cylinders and spinning by rollers—which have also been adopted (with some modifications) in the manufactures of wool, worsted, flax, and tow—originated in the very same establishment, from twenty to thirty years earlier than is commonly supposed, and not in Lancashire, but in Warwickshire. As Paul's patent was obtained some years after Wyatt had retired from the concern, the invention was probably his own. These two extraordinary men were doubly unfortunate,—first, in their failure to realize profit by their splendid inventions, and, secondly, in losing the fame as well as the profit they deserved; for their merits have, until now, been recorded by no writer, and their names are merely handed down as the luckless contrivers of some unknown machinery. It may be hoped that, from the proofs now published of their inventions, they will even yet receive the well-earned, though tardy, tribute of admiration from posterity.

“When the establishment at Northampton, in which the carding cylinder is said to have been used, was broken up, that machine was bought by a Mr. Morris, and taken first to Leominster, in Hertfordshire, and afterwards to Brock mill, near Wigan, in Lancashire. Mr. Kennedy, in his ‘Brief Memoir of Samuel Crompton,’* says—‘Lewis Paul was also in 1748 the patentee of the invention of revolving cylinders for carding cotton. This machine is the original of the machine for carding now used. After the breaking up of

* “Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, vol v. of the second series, p. 326.”

Wyatt and Paul's establishment at Northampton, it was purchased by a hat manufacturer from Leominster, and by him applied to the carding of wool for hats; and about 1760 it was introduced into Lancashire, and re-applied to the carding of cotton, by a gentleman of the name of Morris, in the neighbourhood of Wigan."—*Baines's History of the Cotton Manufacture.*

But Arkwright was in some degree confined in his operation to one process. He first had a horse mill and afterwards a waterwheel. It required the comprehensive and mathematical mind of Watt to give full extension to the improvement of Arkwright. "James Watt, if not the inventor, was the great improver of the steam engine, and in truth, as to all that is admirable in its structure, or vast in its utility, he was virtually the inventor. It was by his ingenuity that its action was so regulated as to make it capable of being applied to the finest and most delicate manufacture, and its power so increased as to set weight and solidity at defiance. By his admirable contrivance, it has become a thing stupendous alike for its force and its flexibility, for the prodigious power which it can exert, the ease, and precision, and ductibility with which they can be variously distributed and applied. The trunk of an elephant, that can pick up a pin or rend an oak, is nothing to it. It can engrave a seal, and crush masses of obdurate metal like wax. It can draw out, without breaking, a thread as fine as gossamer, and lift a ship of war like a bauble in the air. It can embroider the most delicate muslin, and forge an anchor, or cut steel into ribands, and impel loaded vessels against the fury of winds and waves. It would be difficult to estimate the advantages, or the value of the benefits which those advantages have conferred upon the country. There is no branch of industry which has not been indebted to them, and in all the most material, they have not only widened most magnificently the field of its exertions, but multiplied in a thousand fold the amount of its productions. It was his improved steam engine that fought the battles of Europe; it is the same great power that enables us to pay the interest of our national debt, to maintain the arduous struggles in which we are engaged with the manufacturing skill and

capital of countries less oppressed with taxation, and enjoying the advantages of cheap food, not raised in price by artificial means and laws, made in order to maintain landed supremacy. But these are poor and narrow views of its importance. It has increased indefinitely the mass of human happiness, comforts and enjoyments, and rendered cheap, all over the world, the materials of wealth and prosperity. It has armed the feeble hand with a power to which no limits can be assigned, completed the dominion of mind over the most refractory qualities of matter, and laid a sure foundation for all those future miracles of mechanic power, which are destined to aid and reward the labours of after generations.”*

The foregoing digression, an humble tribute to those great men, one of whom introduced the spinning machines, and another gave them their power and extent, will not be considered out of place; for although those vast powers were first applied to the cotton manufacture, their applicability and utility to the woollen manufacture did not escape the comprehensive mind of my friend, Benjamin Gott, Esq., whom, as he is still in the enjoyment of health, ease, comfort, and a great share of the blessings of life, it would be indelicate and improper to eulogise, or even to do justice to his merits. Mr. Gott, in despite of opposition and prejudice, introduced those vast improvements into the woollen manufacture. Instead of the distaff and the spinning wheel, spinning by rollers was invented by Wyatt and Paul, and improved by Arkwright. Instead of a single thread being spun by one pair of hands, a machine was contrived to produce twenty, then fifty, then a hundred, and then even a thousand threads, in less time and by the same manual labour. Mr. Gott was the first to apply this machinery upon an enlarged scale to the woollen manufacture, adding thereto the gig-mill for raising the wool on the piece of cloth, and shearing frames worked also by power,—thus altering the character of the woollen trade.

The spring shuttle and other improvements were also introduced at this period, in the manufacture of superfine cloth, which caused great excitement in the manufacturing districts, and particularly in Wiltshire, where riots took place this year.

COMBING MACHINES AND POWER LOOMS

The worsted trade also came in for its share of improvement. A machine for combing wool was invented by Dr. Edmund Cartwright, of Doncaster: two patents were in this year (1792) taken out by him, by which the work which employed before thirty men was effected by one man and six children. Another machine for combing wool was invented this year by Mr. William Popple, of Cuckney, in Nottinghamshire, by which wool of shorter staple might be made into worsted, and the work performed in a superior manner and by fewer hands.

These inventions caused considerable alarm amongst the wool-combers, and a number of petitions were presented to Parliament, setting forth that their business differed from most others into which machinery had been introduced, in that it was impossible to increase the quantity of the raw material along with the increased power of working it up: and they asserted that their numbers were fully equal and adequate to work up all the wool of the sort fit for combing that could be produced. On the other hand, it was alleged, not only by the inventors of the machinery, but also by the proprietors of four large manufactories in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, that the wool-combers were seldom willing to work half of their time, whereby the manufacturers had been greatly injured, and that the use of the machinery afforded a remedy for that evil, and would also tend to promote an increase of wool and mutton, and therefore they prayed that Parliament would not sacrifice such important interests to the discontent of the wool-combers.

Considerable distress having, however, ensued to the wool-combers, by the introduction and use of machinery, the statute of the 5th Elizabeth, which prohibited the use of certain trades to any person who had not served an apprenticeship thereto for seven years, was relaxed in 1795, and all those who had served an apprenticeship to wool-combing, or were legally entitled to carry it on, and were willing to apply to other branches of the woollen manufacture, or to any other trade, and also the wives and children of all such, were authorised to exercise any trade whatever, in any town or place of the kingdom, without any obstruction.

About this period Dr. Edmund Cartwright introduced his

power loom, and though at that time confined to weaving cotton goods, it was gradually introduced into the worsted and woollen manufactures. Dr. Cartwright's own description of this invention, as inserted in 'Baines's History of the Cotton Manufacture,' is most interesting :—

“ Happening to be at Matlock in the summer of 1784, I fell in company with some gentlemen of Manchester, when the conversation turned on Arkwright's spinning machinery. One of the company observed, that as soon as Arkwright's patent expired, so many mills would be erected, and so much cotton spun, that hands never could be found to weave it. To this observation I replied, that Arkwright must then set his wits to work to invent a weaving mill. This brought on a conversation on the subject, in which the Manchester gentlemen unanimously agreed that the thing was impracticable ; and, in defence of their opinion, they adduced arguments which I certainly was incompetent to answer, or even to comprehend, being totally ignorant of the subject, having never at that time seen a person weave. I controverted, however, the impracticability of the thing by remarking, that there had lately been exhibited in London an automaton figure which played at chess. Now you will not assert, gentlemen, said I, that it is more difficult to construct a machine that shall weave, than one which shall make all the variety of moves which are required in that complicated game.

“ Some little time afterwards, a particular circumstance recalling this conversation to my mind, it struck me that, as in plain weaving, according to the conception I then had of the business, there could only be three movements, which were to follow each other in succession, there would be little difficulty in producing and repeating them. Full of these ideas, I immediately employed a carpenter and smith to carry them into effect. As soon as the machine was finished, I got a weaver to put in the warp, which was of such materials as sail-cloth is usually made of. To my great delight, a piece of cloth, such as it was, was the produce. As I had never before turned my thoughts to any thing mechanical, either in theory or practice, nor had ever seen a loom at work, or knew any thing of its construction, you will readily suppose that my first loom was a most rude piece of machinery. The warp was

CARTWRIGHT'S ACCOUNT OF THE INVENTION.

placed perpendicularly, the reed fell with the weight of at least half a hundredweight, and the springs which threw the shuttle were strong enough to have thrown a Congreve rocket. In short, it required the strength of two powerful men to work the machine at a slow rate, and only for a short time. Conceiving, in my great simplicity, that I had accomplished all that was required, I then secured what I thought a most valuable property, by a patent, 4th of April, 1785. This being done, I then condescended to see how other people wove; and you will guess my astonishment, when I compared their easy modes of operation with mine. Availing myself, however, of what I then saw, I made a loom, in its general principles nearly as they are now made. But it was not till the year 1787 that I completed my invention, when I took out my last weaving patent, August 1st of that year."

The great impulse thus given to manufactures by the inventions and improvements of Arkwright and Watt, as well as Cartwright and others, stimulated their extension in every department, and every branch of agriculture, as well as manufacture; it infused a spirit of emulation amongst agriculturists of every rank, and in all parts of the kingdom, while the encouragement they received by the increasing prices of the produce of the soil, as well as the very high prices paid for stock, amply remunerated them.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM 1800 TO 1804.

Irish Union—Laws respecting the Woollen Trade with Ireland—Proceedings in Parliament—Examination at the Bar of the House of Lords—Mr. Law's (Lord Ellenborough's) Address to the House of Lords—Witnesses Examined—Mr. Wilberforce's Amendment in the House of Commons—Observations on the Objection to the Exportation of British Wool, by Lord Sheffield—An Address to the Woollen Manufacturers of Great Britain, by Alexander Williamson—Jacob's Travels in Germany and Holland.

THE year 1800 was of great importance, from the bill introduced into Parliament by Mr. Pitt's Government, for the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, giving them one Parliament and the same laws. An alteration of the laws which existed as to the trade of wool and woollens, formed part of that plan, and the woollen manufacturers of Great Britain gave it their most strenuous opposition.

In order to understand the position in which they then stood, and the arguments they brought forward in opposing that part of the Act of Union, it becomes necessary to give extracts from the resolutions of the two Houses of Parliament in Ireland, so far as regards wool and woollens, and which were the groundwork of the measures carried in the Parliament of Great Britain :—

“ Resolved,—That it would be fit to propose as the sixth article of the Union, that his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the United Kingdom, and its dependencies, and that in all treaties made by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, his Majesty's subjects

RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain; that from the first of January, 1801, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, to the other, shall cease and determine, and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one to the other without duty or bounty on such exports; that all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, (not hereafter enumerated as subject to specific duties,) shall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other, free of duty, other than such countervailing duty as shall be annexed to the several articles contained in the schedule; and the woollen manufactures shall pay on importation into each country, the duties now payable into Ireland."

"That all articles, the growth, produce, and manufacture of either kingdom, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture."

These resolutions excited the fears of the woollen manufacturers of Great Britain, and the following petition to the two Houses of Parliament was presented:—

"The Petition of the Merchants, Factors, Warehousemen, and others, concerned in the Wool and Woollen Trade, residing in London,

"SHEWETH,—That your petitioners observe, with inexpressible concern, that in the projected arrangements of the Union with the sister kingdom, she proposes that the existing laws, prohibiting the exportation of British wool, should be repealed, so far as relates to herself, whilst on her part she claims the continuance of protecting duties for her woollen manufactures. That your petitioners humbly conceive and believe, that the growth of wool in Great Britain is not sufficient to supply the manufactures thereof with a quantity equal to the present demand for home consumption and foreign markets, so that if any part be suffered to be taken away, your petitioners and the manufacturers must experience very great injury.

"That your petitioners are most seriously alarmed, in case British wool should be permitted to be exported, that, under pretence of carrying it to Ireland, great quantities would be conveyed to foreign countries, without the possibility of prevention, especially in times of peace; and that the facility with which it might be passed from various parts of Ireland free from detection, far

nishes strong apprehension that still larger quantities would find their way to foreign countries, whereby the British merchant and manufacturer would suffer, and the enemies and rivals of the United Kingdom be furnished with means of supplanting both your petitioners and the new members of the empire, in foreign markets.

“ Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that no alteration may be made in the existing laws, so far as they prohibit the exportation of wool, and that your petitioners may be heard by their counsel at the bar of your Honourable House.”

The above petition was signed by 113 firms in London; and similar petitions were presented from Cornwall, Exeter, Totness, Tiverton, Welch Pool, Frome, Bury St. Edmund's, Huddersfield, Tavistock, Painswick, Rochdale, Huntingdon, Norwich, Somersetshire, Sudbury, Halifax, Gloucester, Bury, Preston, Market Harbro', Witney, Wivelscombe, Southwark, Bradford, Cirencester, Colne, Burnley, Banbury, Shrewsbury, Leeds, Wakefield, Haworth, Kendal, Addingham, Kidderminster, Keighley, Skipton, Salisbury.

Counsel for the petitioners were heard, and witnesses examined at the bar of the two Houses of Parliament.

Mr. Law (afterwards Lord Ellenborough), and Mr. Plumer (afterwards Sir Thomas Plumer), were Counsel.

Mr. LAW opened the business in a very long and able speech, in which he gave a history of the wool of this country, and of the woollen manufacture, from the earliest records. Speaking of the manufacture he said:—

“ To state to your Lordships the extent of it, would be to state, that it is at least one-third in point of export, that it is a fourth of the national income, as derived from all its various sources. Its magnitude is so important, its connection with the vital and best interests of this country so close and intimate, that it has been a principal object of attention, in the framing of the statutes which appear upon your rolls, from the earliest period of any ascertained acts of legislation in this country. It is, however, entitled to consideration, not only on this ground of a prescriptive policy respecting it, but it is further entitled to consideration as it enriches the land-owner in the first instance, by the large rent which it enables

his manufacturing tenant to pay for the land he occupies, either for the purpose of habitation or trade, and in the enhanced price of every article which the soil produces; as it enriches the manufacturer in the second place, who works up the wool, and conducts it by various hands, and through various processes, both of manual and mechanical labour, to the ultimate state in which it becomes the subject of use and wear at home, and of exportation, for similar purposes abroad; as it enriches, in the third place, the dealer and artist in every article, which every description of manufacture requires or consumes, from the habitation which protects him from the weather, to the shoes on which he treads; and lastly, as it enriches the state itself, which derives a larger revenue from the consumption of so many articles, the subject of various duties, of customs and excise, naturally occasioned by the demand of a population thus extended and encouraged. In order to give your Lordships some idea of its magnitude, I may venture to state, that there are no less than 1,500,000 persons, who are immediately concerned in the operative branches of this vast manufacture; and I may venture to assume, that the trade directly and collaterally employs double the above-mentioned number of hands. If you look at its annual produce, at its value and amount, with respect to both foreign markets and home consumption, without stating in minute detail the quantity of wool actually produced in the country, it amounts at least to 600,000 packs, each pack being of the value of £11, constituting a total of £6,600,000 of actual produce, before it begins to be manufactured; and in its manufactured state, upon the smallest and most contracted estimate, being upon an average at least tripled in its value. Some of it, which undergoes a more laboured and expensive process, is of infinitely greater value, in proportion to the raw material, than what I have stated; but upon an average, the actual quantity of annually manufactured goods is three times the amount last mentioned, that is £19,800,000, or about twenty millions.

“ This is not a new trade, nor is it only a comparatively ancient trade, but it is the most ancient and the most important trade which the country possesses, which is, as my Lord Hale calls it, ‘ the basis of all commerce.’ Lord Bacon,

when about to be elevated to the high station and dignities he afterwards so long held, among other things, in addressing his advice to the future ministers of his sovereign upon the subject of our commerce, and in speaking of this very trade, emphatically recommends the encouragement of our woollen manufactures in the following terms :—

“ ‘ Let us advance the native commodities of our own kingdom, and employ our own countrymen before strangers. Let us turn the wools of the land into cloths and stuffs of our own growth ; it would set many thousand hands to work, and thereby one of the materials would, by industry, be multiplied to five, ten, and many times to twenty-five times more in value being wrought.’

“ But it may be asked, How does the permitted exportation of wool to Ireland necessarily involve the communication of it to foreign countries ? My Lords, do not suffer yourselves to be deceived on this head : the moment that wool is made the subject of allowed export to Ireland, it is not all your cockets and your clearances, or any other system of check which can be devised, that will insure that the vessels laden therewith shall go to Ireland at all. The navy of Great Britain is not sufficient to shut up the multitude of ports to which this lucrative article of contraband might not be easily diffused over the neighbouring nations of Europe.”

The following witnesses were then examined at the bar of both Houses of Parliament.

Mr. WILLIAM HUSTLER, woolstapler, Bradford, Yorkshire, said—“ It is impossible for me to state the exact quantity of wool grown in this kingdom. I know of no register, nor any documents from which I can collect it with certainty, but I have seen calculations made by my father, who was engaged in the wool business sixty years, and several others made by gentlemen in different parts of the kingdom, which stated, that some years ago the quantity of wool grown was estimated at 600,000 packs. These accounts, I believe, have been received as being made with correctness ; and from the knowledge I now possess of the growth of wool in the kingdom, I have no reason to believe that the alteration is great ; therefore I calculate the quantity now grown in the kingdom as being the same, or nearly the same as formerly.

DEPOSITION OF MR. WILLIAM HUSTLER,

I estimate the average value now to be £11 10s. per pack.
It appears from my father's books that the price of wool was

In 1779	about	£5.	per pack.
1791	"	£9.	ditto.
1792	"	£11.	ditto.
1793	"	£7. to £8.	ditto.
1794	"	£8. to £8 10s.	ditto.
1795	"	£9.	ditto.
1796	"	£9. to £9 10s.	ditto.
1797	"	£9.	ditto.
1798	"	£9. to £9 10s.	ditto.
1799	"	£11	ditto.
1800	"	£11 10s.	ditto.

" I believe the supply is insufficient for the demand. I think in 1783 and 1784, the quantity on hand of long and coarse wool was estimated as being at least three years' growth. The old stocks have been gradually lessened by being worked up, and in the present and last year I have experienced difficulty in buying the quantity of wool I wanted. My estimate is that it is increased in value in manufacture three times its original value. My father's calculation of the number of people employed in the manufacture, and dependant upon it, in the year 1782, was three millions. The relative prices of wool were:—

In England.		In Ireland.	
1795	..... 8½d. per lb.	.....	11d. per lb.
1796	..... 10d. "	.....	1s. 2d. "
1797	..... 8½d. "	.....	9½d. "
1798	..... 7½d. "	.....	12½d. "
1799	..... 8d. "	.....	1s. 3½d. "

" Mr. Hustler received the above scale of prices from Mr. John Gurney, of Norwich. If the free export of wool were allowed to Ireland, I conceive that a large quantity of wool would immediately be bought in the markets of this country, for the use of the Irish manufacturers, the consequence of which must be, that British manufacturers would be deprived of employment. The inclosure of waste lands has certainly, so far as I can judge, increased the quantity of arable land. When sheep are fed upon good and improved pasture land,

they do not produce as fine wool as those fed on commons, where the pasture is very scanty, and where they are obliged to scramble over bushes; but the quantity of wool produced from the same number of sheep fed on good pastures will be increased."

MR. CHRISTOPHER RAWDEN, engaged in the woollen manufacture, near Halifax.—Is in the habit of supplying himself with wool from the Wakefield market, from the growers in Lancashire, from the Halifax and Keighley markets. Has lately found difficulty in supplying himself with wool. Is of opinion that the capital vested in the woollen manufacture will amount to about six millions, or at least five millions, the greatest part of which cannot be removed at all, consisting of mills, buildings, and that kind of machinery not transportable without heavy loss: the principal part cannot be removed, and what can be removed would be with great loss. Conceives that the relative quantity between what woollens are manufactured for home use, and foreign exports, is as four of export to five of home trade.

MR. THOMAS LUMB, woolstapler, of Wakefield, has been established there twenty eight years.—In consequence of inclosures, and the different mode of agriculture, and the feed of sheep on turnips and artificial grasses, the growth of wool is enlarged, the staple is longer and coarser.

MR. JOHN RATCLIFFE, a manufacturer, of Saddleworth.—Has invariably observed that the quality of wool has degenerated when the sheep have been taken into pasture land from the commons. I know of but one instance of a steam engine being in use in my part of the country, and that is a small one. They are not at all necessary where there is a sufficient fall of water to give power to the mills.

MR. WILLIAM FISHER, merchant, Leeds.—Finds difficulty in procuring the wool he requires.

MR. WILLIAM HUSTLER again examined.—A small woollen manufacture was carried on at Louth, in Lincolnshire, but declined, as he believes, from the distance from, and the expense of coals.

MR. JOHN WILLIS, woolstapler, Stroud.—Purchases wool in Herefordshire, Shropshire, and some in Worcestershire. Has not been able of late to procure the wool he wanted.

The wool that is bred upon uninclosed land is certainly better in quality, but does not produce so much as on inclosures.

Mr. JEREMIAH NAYLOR, a buyer of cloth, lives at Wakefield, and attends the Leeds market.—Has experienced of late diminution of the supply of cloth. Is of opinion that the trade of this country is gradually increasing, and will not admit of any exportation of wool.

Mr. BENJAMIN GOTT, concerned in the woollen trade and manufacture at Leeds.—Apprehends that under the circumstances in which the union with Ireland will place us, that is, allowing the wool of this country to be exported to Ireland free of duty, whilst, on the other hand, the protecting duties in Ireland are to be continued, being seven pence halfpenny per yard on all British woollens imported into Ireland, and ten per cent. on that duty, making a duty of eightpence and a fraction per yard; the effect will be to take the wool from this country to manufacture in Ireland. There are two descriptions of woollen goods exported to Ireland, one broad cloth, the other narrow cloth. The average price of narrow cloth I estimate at three shillings and four pence per yard; the lowest general price being one shilling and eight pence per yard. The average price of broad cloth exported to Ireland I should estimate at six shillings and eight pence per yard. The Irish, I believe, manufacture exclusively for their own army establishment, and they manufacture all the remainder of their wool into cloth; but that not being equal altogether to the demands of the country, they draw the remainder of their supply from Great Britain, because they are not allowed to possess our raw material.

Mr. JOSIAS NOTTAGE, a manufacturer, at Bocking, Essex.—The manufactures were declining there in consequence of the competition in Yorkshire, the Spanish war, and the increase of poor rates.

Mr. WILLIAM JENKINS, of Shepton Mallet, and Mr. NATHANIEL WATHEN, of Stroud, attributed the decline of trade in coarse woollens in the West of England, to the gig mills and other machines used in Yorkshire.

After the examination of witnesses, and after a speech from Mr. Plumer, summing up the evidence, an animated debate took place in the House of Commons.

Mr. PEEL (father of the present Sir Robert Peel, 1839,) reluctantly supported the resolution, feeling great interest for the manufactures of the country, and great deference to the evidence of the manufacturers, but felt it his duty to support the resolution so connected with the Union.

Mr. WILBERFORCE, Member for Yorkshire, after recapitulating the evidence, and placing it in the strongest light, moved as an amendment—"To leave out of the resolution what relates to suffering wool to be exported from this country; but that the Irish should be allowed to work up the wool which they themselves grow."

Mr. PITT, Chancellor of the Exchequer, opposed the amendment in a very long speech, in which he combatted the evidence given at the bar of the house, and replied to the arguments of Mr. Wilberforce.

The amendment was supported by Mr. LASCELLES, also Member for Yorkshire, and others; but upon the division there were—

For Mr. Wilberforce's amendment	53
Against it	133
	<hr/>
Majority.....	80
	<hr/>

The estimate of the woollen manufacture, and the population to which it gives support, must have been overstated both by the counsel and the witnesses. All the numbers given seem rather conjectural than founded upon sufficient data. The following official table gives the value of woollens exported in the ten years from 1790 to 1799 inclusive:—

ACCOUNT of the TOTAL OFFICIAL VALUE, agreeable to the Estimates of the Inspector General's Books, of the WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES exported from Great Britain in the following years:—

	1790.	1791.	1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.	1797.	1798.	1799.
Denmark and Norway	£. 18,637	£. 60,829	£. 41,659	£. 22,970	£. 29,249	£. 27,927	£. 38,190	£. 43,377	£. 21,983	£. 29,989
Russia	76,744	134,224	182,353	82,401	71,636	129,136	153,985	120,136	136,867	149,789
Sweden ..	2,037	3,483	17,713	2,011	8,071	2,829	2,812	15,807	218	600
Poland	911	3,695	3,511	1,881	1,091	1,228	1,094	567	1,246	1,218
Prussia	9,519	13,857	18,040	17,769	19,268	27,479	133,903	159,999	34,846	39,296
Germany	223,226	255,303	271,638	217,193	330,024	503,706	594,898	641,098	463,019	427,053
Holland	306,414	313,845	367,583	265,565	217,381	...	128	7,712	94	173
Flanders	117,779	124,239	117,151	72,703	51,583	...	27	...	...	...
France ..	95,827	96,840	155,134	42,855	...	...	...	631	...	...
Portugal and Madeira	382,038	434,375	465,373	376,171	335,811	368,660	425,038	401,920	488,469	568,788
Spain and Canaries...	407,464	346,367	472,221	259,849	255,036	191,203	262,192	26	...	...
Straits and Gibraltar..	119,494	130,336	80,774	20,607	23,586	16,996	24,144	6,910	34,860	31,774
Italy and Venice.....	446,359	517,178	386,631	165,040	181,285	274,065	295,374	2,651	26,739	47,410
Turkey	15,070	41,095	34,334	9,078	6,395	12,228	28,580	3,056	13,927	47,398
Ireland.....	394,720	499,793	490,271	178,071	308,759	458,338	555,963	360,600	583,964	916,190
Man	3,382	3,753	4,737	3,141	4,163	1,535	3,004	3,963	6,328	4,737
Guernsey, &c.....	8,372	4,784	9,058	2,543	1,619	2,967	1,705	2,155	1,939	3,744
British America	156,192	132,997	183,681	147,631	186,787	196,876	224,649	232,329	232,869	324,739
U. States of America	1,481,378	1,621,796	1,361,753	1,032,954	1,391,877	1,982,318	2,294,942	1,901,986	2,399,935	2,803,490
West Indies.....	226,921	288,722	319,329	311,546	368,261	350,595	382,260	455,990	1,482,457	652,726
East Indies	530,614	377,815	362,699	530,307	491,152	587,054	543,387	446,629	341,475	668,161
Africa	167,528	99,696	165,204	44,237	97,671	67,403	44,842	114,804	218,045	259,683
Total	5,190,537	5,505,034	5,510,056	3,895,625	4,300,990	5,175,484	5,011,138	4,686,724	4,694,366	5,770,000

Macpherson, in his "Annals of Commerce," page 526, says—

"The following estimates of the number of packs of wool (of 240 lbs. each,) and of the value of the broad and narrow cloths, together with the supposed amount of the other branches of the woollen manufacture in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and also in the whole kingdom, in the year 1799, are taken from the evidence given by several manufacturers to a committee of the House of Commons in April, 1800.

72,734 packs, average value £11, = £800,074—	
made 272,755 pieces broad cloth, of the esti-	£.
mated value of.....	3,795,157
30,028 packs, average value £14, = £420,292—	
made 180,168 narrow, average value £6	1,081,008
	<hr/>
Total value of broad and narrow cloth ...	4,876,165
Blankets and other goods	1,600,000
Stuffs, or worsted goods, supposed to amount to...	1,400,000
	<hr/>
	£7,876,165
	<hr/>

"Some of the same gentlemen estimated the quantity of wool annually produced from 28,800,000 sheep (the supposed stock in the kingdom) to be 600,000 packs, for which they assumed the medium value of £11 per pack, the whole being £6,600,000. The value is increased in the manufacture from double to nine-fold: assuming three-fold as an average, the total value of woollen goods manufactured in the whole kingdom is £19,800,000. In the year 1782 it was estimated at £14,000,000, and in 1791 at £19,000,000.

"This vast manufacture is supposed to give employment to three millions of men, women, boys, and girls, notwithstanding the decrease of the quantity of wool, and the great abridgment of labour by the use of machinery, which, in the various processes previous to the weaving, was stated by one manufacturer to accomplish by the hands of 35 persons the work which about the year 1785 required the labour of 1,634 persons.

"The capital vested in machinery and buildings appropriated to the woollen manufacture in various parts of the country, was supposed to be about £6,000,000.

"It is evident that the foreign demand for woollen manufactures has lately extended beyond the power of the country to supply it; for many more orders have been sent to the manufacturers than they could possibly find wool to execute. The increased demand may be ascribed partly to the failure of some manufacturers on the Continent, occasioned by the convulsions of the war, and partly to the augmentation of the military establishments of every country in Europe. The deficiency of wool is pretty certainly owing to the increase of inclosures for the purpose of raising corn for the subsistence of the increased number of people in the country and its foreign dependencies, and the unprecedented number of consumers in the army and navy.

"In addition to all the wool produced in this country, the following quantities of foreign wool were imported in the undermentioned years—

Years.	Spanish Wool. Lbs.	Other Wools. Lbs.	Years.	Spanish Wool. Lbs.	Other Wools. Lbs.
1791	2,644,653	131,401	1796	3,400,236	53,975
1792	4,350,819	163,157	1797	4,602,805	50,891
1793	1,750,151	141,234	1798	2,362,469	35,657
1794	4,423,893	61,689	1799	4,891,305	44,534
1795	4,764,264	138,236			

This discussion, and the evidence which had been given, produced the following pamphlets:—

"OBSERVATIONS on the Objections made to the Export of
"Wool from Great Britain to Ireland. By JOHN LORD
"SHEFFIELD.

Lord Sheffield says,—

"The objections made in this country to the export of wool to Ireland come principally from the woollen manufacturers of the North. But, before I observe on these apprehensions, it may be proper to examine what are the expectations of benefit entertained in Ireland, if wool would be exportable from hence to that country. The evidence printed by order of the Irish House of Commons seems to make the prevailing opinion in Ireland on that point. The whole of the evidence is fairly given, together with extracts from two speeches of Mr. Foster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and of Mr. Beresford, who has long presided over the

Excise and Customs in Ireland. Both these gentlemen are known and acknowledged to be men of great ability, than whom none can be better informed on all subjects which concern the trade and interests of their country."

"Extracts from the evidence of Mr. Pim, reported to be a very intelligent and well-informed man.

"Mr. JOSHUA PIM examined, says,—

" ' He has taken notice of the article in the proposed Union allowing the exportation of wool: cannot but consider it as some advantage to Ireland, getting the importation of any article which she had not before; but does not see any reason to expect that English wool can be brought into this country and manufactured here, with any advantage to this country: can, however, only speak as to probability. There was formerly great difference in the prices of wool in England and Ireland: understands they are now nearly equal; they were much cheaper in England than in Ireland. It was then a great object to the Irish manufacturer to get a share of the English wool, at a time there was a great disparity of price: understands that disparity does not now exist. Wool being a very bulky article, it must be of very expensive conveyance. Does not apprehend the opposite coast of England to be a wool country—of course the expense of carriage must be great. Recollects several years ago making an attempt to send wool from Dublin to Cork by sea; the expense was so great, he desisted, and continued to send it by land-carriage. Apprehends Ireland to be mostly deficient in the fine wools for clothing; but for any thing of our export manufactures, she is deficient in every respect. Spanish wool is imported on as good terms as English; but, from circumstances, it cannot be had so cheap. Ireland is very deficient in the manufacture which is composed chiefly or wholly of Spanish wool: the manufacture has declined greatly within some years. Apprehends that Ireland would not import much of the fine British wool, from the high price of it, for the fine manufacture; at the price for two or three years back, thinks it must come quite too dear for the coarse manufacture. The export of bay yarn has decreased these last few years, almost to nothing: in Ireland it is mostly wrought up in stuffs, and serges also. There is not a constant demand from England—there is at present a demand. He

is not intimately acquainted with the making of carpets. Does not think it likely that any English manufacturer will come over here and settle his capital in the woollen business—he could employ it better at home. It is pretty clear that Yorkshire must possess many advantages as to woollens over the other parts of England.’ ”

The speeches of Mr. Foster and Mr. Beresford are to invalidate the evidence given by the English manufacturers regarding the exportation of wool from Great Britain to Ireland.

Lord Sheffield then gives almost literal copies of his observations on the manufacturing trade and present state of Ireland, published by him in 1785, which have been already noticed,* to which he added the following “Table of the value of Woollen Manufactures exported from Great Britain to Ireland from 1790 to 1799 inclusive :”—

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1790 ...	394,720	7	8	1795 ...	458,938	3	10
1791 ...	499,793	16	8	1796 ...	555,963	10	6
1792 ...	490,271	16	3	1797 ...	360,600	3	10
1793 ...	178,071	11	5	1798 ...	583,964	14	0
1794 ...	308,759	16	6	1799 ...	916,190	4	6

“ In the year 1800 the value of the woollen manufactures of Great Britain was supposed to be nineteen millions.

“ On an average of three years, ending March, 1799, the declared value of the export of woollen manufacture from Great Britain to all parts was £8,458,567,† of which exported to Ireland £686,750. On an average of three years ending March, 1799, the woollen manufactures exported from Ireland to all parts, £10,387, and to Great Britain £13

Wool to Ditto..... 92

Woollen and Worsted Yarn 20,081

“ As to the quality of Irish wool, it is much decreased in fineness, but the increased quantity more than compensates. Sir William Petty mentions the fleece to weigh about 2lbs., and he supposes that there were then in Ireland four millions of sheep, and this was probably about the time of the act against the importation of Irish cattle. It is said Ireland

* Vide page 236 and following.

† In 1699, £2,932,292.—Dr. Davenant.







1. The first part of the text is a list of names and titles.

produced excellent clothing wool in the last century, but there are only three counties in that kingdom that now furnished any quantity of that kind : it bears no proportion to the quantity of coarse cloth consumed in Ireland. The Irish fleece, instead of 2lbs., is now double, or even triple that weight.

“ It appears from the Report of the Committee of the Irish Parliament, in 1784, to inquire into the state of the manufactures, that sorted wool is nearly as dear again in Ireland as in England, and that there is not such proportion in the prices of fleece wool. We may infer, therefore, that Ireland wants the useful class of woolstaplers, who purchase the wool from the grower, and sort it into different qualities to suit the different manufactures. The advantage of this is obvious, that the woolstaplers can afford to sell it cheaper, and the wool will be better prepared for the purpose wanted.”

The remainder of Lord Sheffield's book consists of answers to evidence given by manufacturers before the British Parliament, and the details respecting the produce and quality of wool of His Majesty's flock of Spanish wool.

“ AN ADDRESS to the WOOLLEN MANUFACTURERS of
“ GREAT BRITAIN, on the Subject of the Proposed
“ Exportation of Wool to Ireland, and suggesting some
“ hints necessary to be adopted for the interest of both
“ Kingdoms ; to which are added some Observations
“ addressed to the Agricultural Society, on the studied
“ Improvement of the Quality of British Wool. By
“ ALEXANDER WILLIAMS, Merchant. 1800.”

“ In contemplating the supposed probability of a removal of the manufacture of woollen cloth from this country to Ireland, I am convinced, that for centuries to come, you have but little reason to fear any material injury to your interests, at least not until an equilibrium of capital, knowledge, experience, and enterprise shall prevail in both countries, and a removal shall take place of all the advantages of this mart over every other part of his Majesty's dominions. The art of manufacturing linen cloth is easily attained, but the different process in that of woollens requires much time, labour, and attention in many departments, of a very different description.”

The writer then enters into considerable detail with respect to evidence given before the British Parliament, expressing great fear that by allowing the exportation of wool to Ireland it would find its way to other countries, and by that means undermine the woollen manufactures of England.

His observations respecting the measures taken by the Agricultural Societies, for the production of fine wool, and by the importation of Spanish sheep by his Majesty, hold out no encouragement for the production of fine wool in this country, or in any highly cultivated kingdom, where it is the interest of farmers to have quantity of mutton, which must deteriorate the quality of wool, and by which the profit by weight is greater than from the fineness of hair.

Mr. Williams says—"Before I quit the subject of wool, it may not be amiss to offer some observations to the persons of agriculturists, or any other society, that now is, or may be formed for the encouragement of importation, or for the growth of an article of so much consequence to our manufactures. The increase of *quantity* is the first and most desirable object to obtain; for as to *quality*, notwithstanding the very laudable efforts of some truly patriotic noblemen, in pursuing such measures as they think most likely to amend the breed of sheep, and improve their fleece, I fear their labour will not so fully answer the end expected from their exertions; for after allotting a sufficient quantity of British wool for the customary trade and consumption of Great Britain and its foreign connections, I will venture to pronounce it impossible to select a sufficient quantity of fine wool to make a *cape* for every coat of fine cloth worn in this country; for the fact is, and let them lay it down as a maxim, that so long as Englishmen are fond of fat mutton, they must not expect to grow fine wool. That this observation is not founded on bare assertion, and that this my 'ipse dixit' may come to proof, I would recommend to the gentlemen who have entered into various speculations for the improvement of the wools of this country to make one or two experiments.

"At Woburn there is an annual sheep-shearing, under the patronage and sanction of his Grace of Bedford. Let then the fleeces of a certain number of sheep, of the finest hair, be reserved in a proper place, neither too moist or too dry, until

next year. Let those sheep be turned into grass pastures, or turnips, clover, or other artificial food, proper for the fatting of sheep; let the same sheep be sheared in the next year, and let all judges and experienced men decide whether the hair of the next fleece is not considerably more coarse than the wool of the preceding year. Or of the sheep now sheared let a part be turned out upon downs or heath, and taken due care of in the winter, particularly by housing them at night, with as little artificial food as can possibly be dispensed with, and let the other part be fed, as recommended in the former experiment, and both being sheared at the same time in the next year, let the same judges decide on the difference of the wool, and I will stake my reputation that the texture of the hair of the sheep fed on grass pasture will not be worth so much, by several shillings per tod, as the wool of the heath or down sheep.

“ Tenacious as the Spaniards are usually esteemed of any matters so highly interesting to them as their breed of sheep, it is not probable, if they have any fears of England ever producing wools as fine as those of Spain, they would have approved, even of a present to Royalty, of ewes and rams. No, gentlemen, not until we can establish their mode of management are we likely to rival them in the quality of their wool. This circumstance they well know, and smile at our industry on the subject. To prove or disprove this theory, let us examine the texture of the hair of the sheep of the South Downs, of the mountains of Wales, and even of the hills and heaths of Ireland, and we shall find a portion of fine wool, while the sheep are left to browse over their own sweet and natural pastures; but when removed from thence, and confined to fields of rich grass, or parks of narrow extent, the hair will degenerate, and in the course of one or two seasons become of a similar texture to the wool of the surrounding flocks.

“ In the management of the sheep of Spain, the temperature of climate is so much studied, and so well understood, that as the winter approaches, the flocks are moved from the mountains in the north, to the plains of Andalusia and Estremadura in the south-west of Spain, when the ewes drop their lambs; and in the spring, after the autumnal food is exhausted, the sheep are marched back again to their summer

range, but nearly in midway, at Segovia, Burgos, Vinasca, Sorias, and various other shearing and washing places, they are stripped of their fleece, and the greatest care taken of the ewes, that they may not be exposed to the extreme cold, or to any unusual or unexpected temperature of the weather. But as in consequence of such long journeys of about four hundred miles annually, and from various other causes, such as foot-rot, disease, or accident, there are many sheep which cannot proceed, and are left at either end of their accustomed pasture, where they are sheared, and it is well known that so tenacious are some of the proprietors of the purity of the fleece, that they will not suffer the wools of those of any other sheep, even of the same breed, under the denomination of stationary sheep, to be mixed with those of what are called the itinerary flock, because they are always considered of a different and coarser texture.

“The young lambs accompany the flocks on their route from the southward, and as they are the offspring of the fine woolled sheep, it is very natural to expect that their wool would also be proportionally fine; but I have in my possession flanne made of the lambs' wool of Spain, which, though spun and woven by one of the best makers, is coarse and harsh when compared with the flannels made of fine English wool; still more so when put in comparison with the lambs' wool flannel of Wales. These two circumstances, combined with what I have already observed on the subject of the management of the Spanish sheep, will, I trust, justify my former remark, that the quality of the hair must depend on very different kind of treatment than it is in the power of Englishmen to accomplish, especially when they depend more on the flesh than on the fleece for the profit of their farms.”

It may be proper here to give a more particular detail of the history and management of sheep in Spain, extracted from Bourgoing's “Modern State of Spain:” and though it may appear premature, and out of the proper date, to give also an account of the treatment of sheep in Germany, the subject is so connected with the management of sheep in Spain, and the exertions which at this time were making to produce fine wool in England, that extracts will be added from “Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies,” “Bright's Travels in Han-

gary," and "Jacob's Travels in Germany," giving much information respecting wool and the woollen manufactures of those countries; to which is also added an account of the introduction of Sheep into New South Wales, and the quality of wool and the sheep in this colony, being an extract from the *Quarterly Review*.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM 1788 TO 1803.

Sheep.—Their Management—Wool—Bourgoing's Modern State of Spain—The Management of Sheep in Spain—The Woollen Manufactures of Spain—Swi- burne's Travels in the Two Sicilies—Bright's Travels in Lower Hungary— Jacob's Travels in Germany and Holland—Moegelin Flocks—Flocks of George III.—Samples of the Wool sent by Sir Joseph Banks to Mr. Mait- land—Report thereon—Distribution of Merino Sheep from the Royal Flock—Public Sale of Sheep—Facts and Observations on fine Woolled Sheep, by Dr. Parry—Lord Somerville on Sheep and Wool—Introduction and Progress of fine woolled Sheep in New South Wales, by John Mac Arthur—Number of Sheep in New South Wales.

“MODERN STATE OF SPAIN, by J. F. BOURGOING, late
“Minister from France to the Court of Madrid. 1807.”

‘ IN the sixteenth century the number of wandering sheep in Spain exceeded seven millions. Under Philip III., their number fell to two millions and a half. Ustarez, who lived at the beginning of the last century, computes them at four millions. The general opinion at present is, that they do not exceed five millions. If we add to these, eight millions of these animals always stationary, we shall have an aggregate of thirteen millions of sheep.

EXPORTATION IN 1792.

From Bilboa to England,	16,176	Bags, 200 to 250 lbs. each.
Ditto, Holland,	6,180	Ditto.
Ditto, France,	186	Ditto.
Ditto, Ostend,	664	Ditto.
Ditto, Hamburgh,	356	Ditto.
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		23,552 bags.
From St. Andero to London,	2,634	Ditto.
Ditto, Bristol,	2,314	Ditto.
Ditto, Amsterdam,	1,909	Ditto.
Ditto, Rouen,	1,200	Ditto.
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		8,057
Wool exported from Bilboa and St. Andero, ...	31,609	
Wool exported from Seville,	4,500	
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Total,	36,109	bags.

“ Two of the greatest ministers in Spain during the present century, Campillo, under Philip V., and La Ensenada, under Ferdinand VI., considered the immense exportation of their wool as one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of industry, because the nations who were the original purchasers, sent it back manufactured, and resold it at an exorbitant advance in price, and because the wools of a coarser quality, which remained in Spain, were manufactured there at a great expense.

“ For a long period, all the common wool has been worked up into cloth for uniforms for the troops, and the dress of the lower orders of the people, and the exportation of it is prohibited: the greatest part of the sheep which produce it are black, consequently the cloth is of that colour; hence the great quantity of brown mantles is accounted for.

“ There is also wool of a second quality, like that of Valencia, the exportation of which is not prohibited. This is for the most part made into cloth, in the province which produces it. As to the finer wools, they are employed in several provinces in Spain, and particularly in the manufactory of Guadalaxara. Cardinal Alberoni, in the year 1718, laid the foundation of this establishment. In the time of Charles III., the manufactory of St. Fernando was removed to Guadalaxara, where nothing but superfine cloth has been made. Since that period various manufactories of fine cloth have been established at Guadalaxara. In 1783 this was, perhaps, the most complete establishment of the kind in Europe: within its walls was every requisite for the manufacture of cloths, while the tools and implements used in the works were all made upon the spot.

There were 24 looms for cloth of the first quality, called

St. Fernando cloth.

100 looms, second cloth.

506 looms, serges.

These looms were contained in two buildings, and gave employment to 3825 persons, all paid by the king. To these may be added a far greater number, scattered throughout La Mancha and Castile, who are occupied in spinning wool for Guadalaxara.

BOURGOING ON THE MANUFACTURES

Charles IV., who visited Guadalajara in 1791, found
306 looms for fine cloth.
350 looms for serges.

He employed 24,000 persons, and manufactured to the
total amount of thirteen to fourteen million rials, or about
1,000. Cloths of most beautiful colour, but inferior
in quality, are sold for eighty-four rials per yard,
the finest St. Fernando at ninety-four, that of Bribuega
seventy-four, and serges at thirteen.

In 1796 the manufactories of Guadalajara, and those of
Bribuega, situate about four leagues distant, possessing 400
for fine cloth, were in a flourishing condition: they sold
about 9,000 to 10,000 pieces per month.

Segovia, in the golden age of that city,

Had 600 looms.

In 1697 260 looms.

In 1748 366 looms.

which employed 4300 persons, and consumed more than
50,000 arobas of unwashed wool. In 1785 they manufac-
tured 4000 pieces.

"The duties on exportation of wool in Spain produced in
1771 twenty millions of rials, and in 1789 twenty-eight
millions of rials. Let us fix the exportation of wool

From Bilboa at 22,000 bales.

St. Andero 8,000 "

Seville ... 4,500 "

Total ... 34,500 "

And supposing each bale to weigh only 200lbs., the amount
will be 6,900,000lbs., at ten rials per lb., and this gives an
aggregate of 69,000,000 rials, equal to £621,000 sterling.
In this calculation everything is taken at the lowest rate, par-
ticularly the price of the wool; for in 1792 the superfine
Leonesa was at 1886, and the common wool at 1150 rials
per quintal; consequently more than eighteen rials per lb. for
the first sort, and upwards of eleven rials for the latter: there
is no exaggeration, therefore, in estimating at eighty millions
of rials, the sum Spain gains every year by the sale of wool."

"ON THE SHEEP OF SPAIN.—Before leaving Segovia, I
am anxious to conclude my observations respecting the sheep

of Spain. In the mountains adjoining the city, a great part of the wandering flocks pasture during the summer season. They are seen descending in the month of October, along with the flocks of the ancient Numantia (Soria), quitting those which separate the two Castiles, and after passing through New Castile, dispersing themselves in the plains of Estremadura and Andalusia. Those which are nearer the Sierra Morena, pass the winter there; the length of their journeys is proportioned to the kind of pasture they obtain. They travel in flocks of 1000 or 1200, under the guidance of two shepherds; the chief shepherd is called the mayoral, the other the zagal. When arrived at their destinations, they are distributed among the various pasturages assigned to them. They proceed on their route again in May, and whether from custom or instinct, they travel onward to the climate best adapted for them at that season. The uneasiness they seem to feel indicates to their guides any necessity for change of situation.

“ Each flock, called a Cavaña, belongs to one master, and the whole produce of the wool of these flocks is called *pila*. The Cavañas bear the names of their proprietors. The most numerous are those of Bejar and Nigretti, each of which consists of 60,000 sheep. That of the Escorial, the most famous, has 50,000. Prejudice or custom makes the wool of certain Cavañas more sought after than others. At Guadalaxara, for instance, they employ no wool but that of Nigretti, the Escorial, and the Chartreuse of Paular. Besides the above there are the Cavañas of the Marquis d'Iranda, of the Marquis of Pentes, of Manuel de Balbuena, and of Count San Rafael. Of all these various Cavañas, those of Paular are supposed to yield the finest wool in all Spain, and the Nigretti sheep are remarkable for strength, and the quantity of their wool.”

“ SHEARING THE SHEEP.—Upon the return of the wandering sheep, towards the month of May, the shearing is commenced—an operation of great magnitude in Spain, because performed on a large scale, in vast buildings called Esquileos, arranged so as to receive whole flocks of 40 to 50, and even 60,000 sheep. The harvest and vintage have nothing so solemn in their celebration: it is a time of festivity for the proprietors, as well as for the workmen. The latter

BOURGOING ON THE WOOL OF SPAIN.

are divided into certain classes, and to each a different branch of the operation is allotted. 125 persons are found requisite to shear 1000 sheep. Every animal yields wool of three kinds, finer or coarser, according to the part of the body from which it is taken.

“ When the shearing is finished, the produce is collected in bales, and carried either to the sea-port towns for exportation, without any other operation, or to certain places denominated washing stations, in the environs of Segovia, and throughout the rest of Castile. In general about 10,000 quintals of wool are washed in the single station of Ortijos, three leagues from St. Ildefonso, which forms a kind of vast basin, the inner margins of which are gently sloping meadows, exposed to the sun in every direction.

“ The wool is brought here in the state in which it is taken from the sheep, being in clotted tufts or flocks. In this form they give it to the apartadores, who divide it into three portions, of different qualities; and so accustomed are they to this business, that at the first glance they know to what part of the animal the flock of wool belongs which first presents itself. The three qualities of the wool being thus separated, they are spread upon wooden hurdles; they are then scattered abroad and beaten, in order to clear them from the dust and filth which adhere to them, and are afterwards carried to the washing places.

“ From two large stopcocks, fitted into an immense cauldron, boiling water falls into three square pits, three or four feet deep; three men are then employed to stir the wool in every direction; each kind of wool is washed separately, and requires water more or less hot, according to the fineness of its quality. When this operation is finished, the wool is again spread out upon hurdles, for the purpose of extracting the filthy parts, which the water has begun to dissolve; those which are clotted with dirt, and unfit for use, are detached with the hand and laid aside, and the produce converted into a fund for the benefit of departed souls; for in Spain, religion is introduced into all the minutiae of social life.

“ The hurdles are afterwards placed between the wells and a narrow aqueduct through which a current of cold water flows. A man at the head of this water-course receives the wool, and throws it in; it is then taken by five men ranged one by one

below him, who successively tread upon it, and transmit it from one to the other. Lower down are other workmen, who also stop it as it passes and throw it on a stone shelf, where they wring it: and below this is a small drain: a grating is placed at the extremity of this drain, to prevent any part of the wool from being carried off by the current. When the wool is well wrung, it is spread upon the sloping meadows I have already mentioned, and exposed to the sun for four days, in order to dry it completely. When well dried, it is put into large sacks, on which are two marks, one indicating the quality of the wool, and the other the name of the flock which produced it. In this state it is exported, so that when we see the bales of Spanish wool in any part of Europe, we may thus ascertain the quality and the place from which it came."

" NEAPOLITAN WOOLS. TRAVELS IN THE TWO SICILIES. By HENRY SWINBURNE. 1783."

" PLAINS OF PUGLIA.—FOGGIA.—In the centre of the plains Foggia stands. I find little mention of this place before the coming of the Suabians. A General of the King of Hungary abandoned it in 1350 to his soldiers, who found in it immense booty, as Foggia was at that time the most opulent place in Puglia. Its consequence, both in ancient and modern times, has been, and still is, owing to its being a staple for corn and wool, and to a tax, or register-office, known by the name of Tribunale della dogana della mena delle pecore di Puglia, *i. e.* 'The Custom-house for the toll of sheep that pass to and from Puglia.' It is managed by a Governor, Auditor, and two Advocates, and has the distribution of a fixed assessment upon all sheep that descend in autumn from the mountains of Abruzzo, into the warm plains of Puglia, where they year, and in May return to the high country.

" We have the authority of Varro and others for ascribing the invention of this duty to the ancient Romans, who, on subduing the Italian States, were wont to allot their improved land to colonies of their own citizens, while they left the original possessors the use of the waste and less cultivated tracts, under the obligation of paying a tenth of the produce of the corn land, and a fifth of all other fruits. Breeders of cattle were to compound with the censors, who, every year

hung out a table of the conditions on which they proposed to lease out the public pastures. A list of the sheep intended to be sent to graze thereon was given in, and a proper allotment of land assigned, according to the number and the goodness of the pasturage: this was called *Scriptuarius Ager*. In later times the Emperors appropriated all such common lands to themselves, and caused them to be considered as their peculiar royalties. Varro says sheep were driven out of Apulia into Samnium before summer, and on their passage were obliged to be declared forfeited to the public. We gather from Odofredus, of Beneventum, a writer of the thirteenth century, that this duty was not lost in that age; but in the two following ones the passage seems to have become quite free, and the pastures of Puglia open without fee to all the shepherds that were to bring down their flocks.

"Alphonse the First, foreseeing an immense accession to the royal revenue from the proper management of such custom, but at the same time being desirous of avoiding every shadow of coercive legislation and tyranny in the establishment of them, deputed Francis de Montubler to treat with the graziers and sheep-masters of Abruzzo, and the land-owners of Puglia. This intelligent minister disposed the minds of those he had to deal with so favourably, that he brought them to terms of great advantage to the Crown, and present profit to themselves. The King engaged to supply the breeders with a fine new race of sheep imported from Spain,* to provide winter pasturage for seven months, and a convenient road, called *Tratturo*, sixty paces wide, for the passing and re-passing of the flocks, freedom from all road-tolls and other dues, guards and protection from all assaults and disturbances, and materials for their huts and folds at reasonable prices, and on credit. He bound himself to compel all barons and bodies corporate on the route to furnish herbage for the sheep during twenty-four hours, and to compound moderately for all demands at bars and bridges.

* It is affirmed, in the annotation on *Delicis Tarentinis*, that they were propagated from some sheep sent as a present by Edward, of England, to John, of Arragon. Rapin says, Edward the Fourth was blamed by the nation for giving away sheep, and thereby improving the Spanish wool, to the detriment of the English sales; but Edward the Fourth reigned after the death of Alphonse, and therefore it is likely that Edward the Third was the donor, as he was a contemporary and in league with John the First of Arragon.

“ The Crown not being possessed of a sufficient range of pasture for the flocks expected down from Abruzzo, Montubler purchased of the Puglian proprietors as much more as was deemed adequate to the purpose : the purchase, or rather perpetual lease, was only made for seven months in the year, during which time no other sheep or cattle are allowed to feed in the plains ; and in case of failure of herbage, the Crown reserved a power of compelling all subjects to let a lease of such grass lands as might be wanted to make up the deficiency, and to abide by the valuation of its officers. The ancient owners still continue absolute masters of the soil, and may dispose of the summer herbage as they think proper, and at all times turn swine into the woodlands. For all these leased grounds the King agreed to pay for ever thirteen thousand nine hundred and twelve ducats a year, to stand all risks and losses, and to defray all expenses attending the collection, which was computed at about fourteen thousand four hundred and thirty-four ducats more. These royal pastures are bounded by stones, and known by the name of Tavoliere. The extent, sixty miles in length, and thirty in breadth, divided into twenty-three old lots, and twenty new ones, capable in all of feeding one million two hundred thousand sheep.

“ In return for all these attentions on the part of the King, the shepherds of Abruzzo bound themselves for ever to descend from the mountains every year to submit to the jurisdiction, parcelling power, and penalties pronounced by the Dogana, and to pay for every five score sheep the sum of eight Venetian crowns. The Crown has since, by a stretch of prerogative, raised the duty twice, once in 1556, to twelve crowns, and a second time, in 1709, to thirteen ducats and twenty grains. The allotments for each lot were to be declared in November, and no agreement to be of a longer term than one season. The shepherds were to provide themselves with every necessary, and not to have a power of selling any wool, lambs, cheese, or other commodity produced during their winter residence, in any fair but that of Foggia, where they were to be deposited in the royal magazines, and not touched without a permit. By way of compensation, no wools in the kingdom were to be suffered to be brought to market till those at

were vended, the duties paid, and the tribunal satisfied its demands.

This Dogana is one of the richest mines of wealth belonging to the Crown of Naples, and with proper economy, capable of great increase, provided no epidemical distemper befall the flocks. Its advantages were so well known in 1713, when Lewis and Ferdinand made a partition of the kingdom, that it was agreed to halve the profits between them; and when the French attempted to evade this contract by driving the sheep and cattle at San Severo, before they reached the usual place of enregistering, the Spaniards thought it justifiable in attacking the French tax-gatherers, and dispersing both collectors and flocks. Soon after its institution, the Dogana cleared 72,000 ducats. In 1536 one million forty-eight thousand three hundred and ninety-six sheep, and fourteen thousand four hundred cattle, produced 72,214 ducats. In 1680 the profit was 155,863 ducats, and in 1700 it amounted to 272,077 ducats, and in 1730 to 235,072. At present the net profit arising to the King from the letting of the pastures is about 40,000 ducats, but, with duties on wool, tallow, &c., amount to 400,000 ducats. Competent judges assure me, that it would be no difficult matter to raise it to half a million of ducats.

TARANTO.—“Standing upon the banks of the Cerraro, a small brook of whitish water that falls into the bay of the Mare Piccolo, at the north-east corner, believed by some authors to be the Galesus; and endeavouring to satisfy myself that I was actually standing on the banks of so celebrated a river,” an aged shepherd came up with his flock, and freely entered into conversation. I was glad of an opportunity of learning some particulars concerning the Tarentine sheep, and the commonly received opinion that no white ones would now live in those pastures, because they soon would poison themselves with the leaves of the fumolo, (a species of *hypericum crispum*, or St. John’s wort of Linnaeus’s *polyadelphia polyandria*,) though black sheep may browse upon it with

* “Tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galexi,
Thyrain et atritis Daphnia arundinibus.”—VIRGIL, *Eclog.*

‘Thou singest under the pine groves of shady Galeus, the loves of Thyra and Daphnis on thy smooth reeds.’

safety. For this reason it is said, no white sheep can be seen in the flocks, and no wool but of a black, or dark brown colour. The old man smiled at my questions, and pointing to many white ewes in his stock, answered, ‘ That it was not in consequence of its colour, but of its species, that the animal suffered from those noxious herbs.’ The *pecore gentili*, or delicate race of sheep, are so much more liable to perish by these and other accidents than the *pecore mescie*, or *carfagne*, (a wilder and coarser breed,) that the former kind is almost destroyed.

“ To explain this matter satisfactorily, it is necessary I should enlarge upon this subject, and recapitulate what we read of the flocks of the ancient Tarentines ; the attempts made in latter times to revive the credit of the Puglian wools, with the causes which have defeated the intention, and rendered the scheme abortive. Columella informs us, that the Tarentines crossed their delicate breed with fierce foreign rams of a beautiful tawny colour, and that the fleece of their lambs had the strong glossy hue of the sire, with the downy silkiness of the dam. To increase this lustre and softness, they used to buckle round the sheep a sort of leathern coat, which they took off occasionally, lest the beast should suffer from excessive heat ; then bathed and soaked the wool in wine and oil, till it was quite saturated with the rich fomentation. Before shearing time, the sheep were washed in the Galesus,* and at all seasons penned up in clean folds, and kept free from filth. They were never led out to feed till the sun had dried up the dew, as the spirting of the drops from the grass was apt to give them sore eyes. This process, and the silence of the ancients concerning any particular whiteness in the wool of Tarentum, prove how much Sannazar and the other moderns have confounded times and ideas, in praising it merely for its milky hue ; for the darkness of colour was by no means a hindrance to the imbibition of a deep purple dye, which was the tint most esteemed by the Tarentines.

* “ Namque sub Œbalia memini me turribus altis,
Quâ niger humectat flaventia culta Galesus,
Corycium vidisse senem.” VIRGIL, ECLOG. IV.

* For I remember to have seen the aged Corycius, near the lofty towers of Œbalia, where dark Galesus waters the yellow fields.’

THE TRAVELS IN THE TWO SICILIES.

After the fall of Rome, a long train of wars and devastations deprived this country of all its acquired advantages, and operated so direfully upon its climate and productions, to vitiate those it held of the bounty of nature. When the manufacturers as well as the manufactures were destroyed, the prime commodities, of course, lost their value, and ceased to be worth the shepherd's while, even had the merits of his calling being handed down to him, to take any pains in preserving a purity of breed, or delicacy of covering in his breed of sheep: these perceptions had no longer any admirers or chapmen, and, consequently, the race very soon degenerated.

Frederick, of Suabia, took some steps towards retrieving this branch of traffic; but the misfortunes of his family rendered all these prospects visionary. The introduction of the silk worm from the East, by Roger, proved a fatal check to the demand for fine wool; and the heavy load of taxes imposed upon the commodity by the Angevine princes after they had lost Sicily, completed the destruction of the finer breed. On account of their tender constitution, they required expensive housing, and constant attendance, to make them turn to profit, and therefore the Puglian shepherds, being from indigence unable to procure such conveniences, abandoned the delicate race, and attached themselves to a rougher variety, which are generally black or brown, hardy, and able to feed with impunity on many plants and species of grass, that blind and weaken, if not poison, the *pecore gentili*.

The breed was so debased in the fifteenth century, and the farmers reduced to such misery, that Joan II. chose rather to remit the taxes laid upon wool by her brother, than attempt any method of amelioration, for which she wanted both skill and steadiness.

Alphonso I., who had greater views, and was blest with more peace than his predecessor, resolved to procure for his Neapolitan dominions some of the substantial advantages which his kingdom of Arragon had experienced from an improved breed of sheep, sent as a present to one of his ancestors from a king of England. To obtain this end, he caused a great number of ewes and rams, the progeny of those English sheep, to be transported into Puglia. Ferdinand I.

ambitious of supporting his father's system, encouraged the woollen manufacture, by inviting workmen from all foreign parts, where the trade flourished; but the duties imposed by those two kings produced ultimately very pernicious effects, for they lay heavy upon the poorer class of farmers, and the sale of wool was not sufficient to indemnify them for losses sustained by bad years and accidents. The oppression of needy and ignorant viceroys, who were obliged to anticipate and mortgage every revenue to supply the continued demands of the Spanish ministry, increased the evil to such a height, that at last the white breed was entirely forsaken; and at this day the number of *pecore gentili* is extremely inconsiderable within the district of Taranto. Very little nicety is now observed in the choice of rams, or in proper crosses, by which means the wool is not so fine as it might be, though it be still of a good quality. Better management and employment of the raw materials at home, might create an inexhaustible fund of wealth for the state. The flesh of the *pecore gentili* is more flabby, stringy, tasteless, and, therefore, cheaper than that of the *mescie*; and there is a penalty upon any butcher that shall pass off the mutton of the former for that of the latter."

"TRAVELS IN LOWER HUNGARY. By ROBERT BRIGHT,
"M.D. 1818."

"*Moravia* ranks highest for the manufacture of woollen goods, and in this province twenty-six towns principally are distinguished. The number of workmen amounts to 140,000 or 150,000, and the produce is about 252,000 pieces of fine and common cloths and woollen stuffs, besides 10,000 ells of coarse woollens for peasants, and 1,000 pieces of blanketing and other articles.

"*Bohemia*.—This manufacture occupies above 88,000 persons, who prepare—

123,797 pieces of cloth,
66,448 pieces of woollen stuffs,
60,000 doz. of stockings.

"At *Linz*, in the province over the Enns, is situated the largest woollen manufacturing place in Germany; it employs 25,000 hands in making cloths, woollen stuffs, and carpets.

EIGHT'S TRAVELS IN LOWER HUNGARY.

the towns of *Bielitz*, *Odrau*, *Wagstadt*, and *Wigst* in Austrian Silesia, yield nearly 60,000 pieces annually. The district under the Enns has also considerable woollen manufactures. *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, and *Galicia* are much less productive, making chiefly the coarsest cloth for the use of the lower orders and peasantry. In all the principal branches of this trade, it is computed that 600,000 Hungarian subjects find employment. In order to afford a correct as well as a superficial or general view of all the various manufactures, the Museum of Vienna is not only with entire pieces of different colours and patterns, but likewise with luminous books of patterns, in series, illustrating the progress of the manufactures, and the objects of industry connected with them.

Urmény.—At the farm of *Urmény*, Graf Hunyadi keeps the most extensive flock which he possesses in this part of Hungary, consisting of about 1,200 sheep, which have now been ten years under improvement. In the care of them he employs one chief shepherd and six men; the sheep are divided into flocks of 100 to 200, as circumstances may require, and we arrived just as they were following their shepherds in various directions, over a wide extent of sweet pasture, resembling our English Downs.

“The original breed of Hungarian sheep is in fact the real *ovis strepsiceros* of authors, covered with very coarse wool, and bearing upright spiral horns. Improvement on this stock, by crosses with other varieties, is become so general, that a flock of the native race is seldom to be met with, except on the estates of the clergy.

“The great improvement has been by the introduction of Spanish blood. Some of the great proprietors have themselves imported from Spain, others have obtained rams from the flocks of the Emperor of Austria, and others from various private sources; so that at present there is scarcely any flock of importance which has not derived advantage from the Spanish cross.

“In the year 1773 a royal flock was established at *Mercapail* to assist in the general improvement; this has, however, been latterly somewhat neglected, on account of another since formed at *Holitech*. The wool is now a great object

of commerce. In 1802 it was calculated that above twelve millions and a half pfund* was exported from Hungary.

“ By keeping the most accurate register of the pedigree of each sheep, the Graf Hunyadi has been enabled to proceed with a degree of mathematical precision in the regular and progressive improvement of his whole flock. Out of the 17,000 sheep composing his flock, there is not one whose whole family he cannot trace by reference to his books, and he regulates his yearly sales by their registers; he considers the purity of blood the first requisite towards perfection in the fleece, but he is well aware that little can be done unless the sheep be kept in health and condition. For this purpose he has adopted a system of folding, which, as far as I can judge, is almost perfect, and the whole is conducted with much accuracy.

“ At each of the head quarters of his sheep, well-built sheds are constructed, having brick pillars at certain distances, which leave about half the side open, and thus admit a free circulation of air during the summer, and afford easy means of excluding the cold during the winter. The height of the sheds is about seven feet to the springing of the roof, and they are divided by little racks into such spaces as are necessary for the division amongst the flocks. The floor is covered with straw, and the upper layer being continually renewed, a dry and warm bedding is obtained. In these houses the sheep are kept constantly during the winter, that is, from November till April, and are there fed three times a day upon dry food; they are watered twice a day, even during the summer. The sheep are driven under cover every evening, and they are conducted home in the day time when it rains, or when the heat is oppressive; they always lamb in the house, the ewe being placed upon this occasion in a little pen by herself, where she remains unmolested; these pens are about three feet long by two feet wide, and are formed by means of hurdles; it is owing to this care that they never lose a lamb.

“ REGULATIONS ADOPTED IN THE CARE OF THE FLOCKS OF
GRAF HUNYADI.

“ 1. A dry and airy shed, or cot, of which the size is proportioned to the number of the sheep, is, above all things, necessary

* The pfund is 1.23 lb. avoirdupois.

for these animals. In order to give them proper room, we ought to reckon two feet and a half square for each ewe, as the hay rack, the partition required during lambing, and the lamb itself will occupy this space.

"2. The cot should be cleaned out at least every four weeks, because the exhalation from the dung produces disease amongst the sheep.

"3. All wetness and moisture is injurious, not only to the health of the sheep, but also to the wool, on which account they ought never to be driven out during rainy weather.

"4. The dew and hoar frost in the morning are injurious to them, occasioning cough, colds, and diseases of the lungs, and therefore they should not be taken to the pasture until the dew is gone off.

"5. Low and marshy meadows, and such as are covered with luxuriant grass, should be still more carefully guarded against; as also stubble lands, in which the scattered grain has sprung up anew.

"6. In the summer months, when the heat is intense, the sheep must, between the hours of ten and eleven, either be driven back to the cot, or at least be conducted to some shaded place.

"7. It is indispensably necessary that the sheep should be twice taken to water every day, both in summer and winter.

"8. A supply of salt is also necessary, of which, in the summer months, four pfund, and in the winter three pfund should be furnished weekly to every hundred head of sheep, so that they may at least twice every week have salt to lick.

"9. The rams should not be kept in the same house with the ewes, nor the young with the old.

"10. For fourteen days before the coupling season, the ram should be daily fed with two halbes (equal to three pfund,) of oats, and this food should be continued, not only during the coupling, but for fourteen days after, and one ram will thus be sufficient for a flock of eighty ewes, provided great care and attention be paid to him, in every other respect, during the whole of the season.

"11. During the lambing period, a shepherd must be constantly, day and night, in the cot, not with the view of affording assistance at the birth, but in order that he may place the lamb, as soon as it is cleaned, together with the mother, in a separate pen, which has been before prepared. The ewes which have lambed should, during a week, be driven neither to water nor to pasture, but low troughs of water for this purpose are to be introduced into each partition, in order that they may easily, and at all times, quench their thirst. It is also of great use to put a small quantity of barley-

meal into the water, for by this means the quantity of the ewe's milk is much increased. When the lambs are so strong that they can eat, they are to be separated by degrees from their mothers, and fed with the best and finest hay and a few oats, being suffered at first to go to them only three times in each day,—early in the morning, at midday, and in the evening,—and so to continue till they can travel to pasture, and fully satisfy themselves. For a week they should then be turned in twice a day, and for another week once a day only, to the ewes, when they may be entirely weaned. At first it is enough if a quarter of a pfund of hay be given every day to each lamb, and one halbe of oats be divided amongst six; afterwards, and till they are driven out, half a pfund of hay and a halbe of oats amongst four will be sufficient."

" REGULATIONS FOR WINTER FEEDING.

" 1. The winter feeding should begin as soon as the cold and the hoar frost prevents the growth of the grass, and if, as it often happens, this should be the case so early as the beginning of October, it is not necessary that the sheep should, from this time forward, be kept constantly in the house, and receive all their food there, but they may, in dry and clear weather, (always observing the fourth of the foregoing regulations,) be driven out so long as the grass is not rendered unwholesome by the frost, and the ground is not covered with snow. During this time, however, they must not be sent out empty, but before going to pasture, must have a third part of their usual daily allowance.

" 2. A sheep which is healthy and full grown will require daily four pfund of food, which must consist of hay and straw. Young sheep should have one pfund less.

" The daily distribution of food is as follows:—

" From the time when the frost begins, while yet the sheep can go abroad, each receives in the morning one pfund and a half of good straw. They are then driven to water, and then to the pasture, where they remain until the dew appears.

" From the time when the hard frost comes on, and the ground is covered with snow, till twenty days before dropping their lambs, they receive every morning, at five o'clock, one-and-a-half pfund of clean straw, and at eight o'clock, one half pfund of hay; at nine o'clock they go to water; at three o'clock again half pfund of good hay; at four o'clock they go again to water, and at six o'clock in the evening, one-and-a-half pfund of clean straw is again given.

" From twenty days before dropping their lambs, till the spring pasturage commences, they have every morning, at five o'clock,

NET'S TRAVELS IN LOWER HUNGARY, &c.

kind of clean straw; at eight o'clock one pfund of good hay; at nine o'clock they go to water; at three o'clock in the noon, one pfund of fine hay; at four o'clock they again drink; and at six o'clock in the evening they have again a pfund of clean straw.

Wethers require the same quantity and order in their food, with this difference alone, that in the commencement of winter they receive three-fourths pfund of hay, and three and one-fourth pfund of straw; and when the cold weather ceases, one pfund of hay, and three pfund of straw.

4. The young sheep have, from the period of the complete setting in of winter till the spring pasture, every morning, at five o'clock, three-fourths pfund of clean straw; at eight o'clock three-fourths pfund of good hay; at nine o'clock they go to water; at three o'clock they have again three-fourths pfund of good hay; at four o'clock they again drink; and lastly, at six o'clock in the evening, have three-fourths pfund of straw.

5. The lambs have generally, four weeks after their birth, or rather as soon as they can eat dry food, at eight o'clock, one-eighth pfund of fine hay each; at twelve, every six lambs have one-sixty-fourth of a metze of oats; and at three in the afternoon, again one-eighth pfund of hay; but when they become stronger, they have at each feeding one-fourth pfund of hay, and amongst four they have one halbe of oats.

6. The lambs are early taught to lick the salt, which is placed upon boards, in quantities proportioned to their numbers.

"REGULATIONS FOR FEEDING IN SUMMER.

1. During this season, the sheep are entirely fed in the pastures; yet we must remember that when the sheep first come into the spring pasture, they continue to receive one half of their winter food, that is, one pfund of hay in the morning before they are driven out, and one pfund after they come home, until the grass has attained its full perfection.

2. As soon as the grass is grown, so that the sheep can find complete nourishment, the winter feeding ceases by little and little, and the following regulations are adopted:—In the morning they remain in the cot till the dew is dried away; they then go to water, and from that are driven to the pastures; between ten and eleven o'clock they return to the cot, and after three o'clock are driven to water, and then to the pastures, where they remain till the dew falls.

3. Salt, finely powdered, should be given them in small troughs, every third day, before they are driven from the field.

“TRAVELS IN GERMANY, HOLLAND, AND FRANCE. By WILLIAM JACOB.”

“MOEGELIN.—An important object of this establishment has been the improvement of the breed of sheep, which, as far as regards the fineness of the wool, has admirably succeeded. By various crosses from select merinos, by sedulously excluding from the flock every ewe that had coarse wool, and still more by keeping them in warm houses during the winter, Von Thair has brought the wool of his sheep to great fineness, far greater than any that has been clipped in Spain; but the improvement of the carcase has been neglected; so that his, like all other German mutton, is indifferent. In England, where the flesh is of much more value than the fleece, the merino breeding has not been attended with beneficial result.

“The fleeces of the Moegelin flock average about three pounds and a half each; they have been sold to English traders, who came to the spot at one period to purchase them, so high as 8s. 6d. per lb., while the whole flock could now be sold for more than 10s. to 12s. The statement will readily account for the fact, that though merino sheep are very beneficial in Prussia and Saxony, they have been found unprofitable with us. Von Thair, with the assistance of the professors of the institution over which he presides, has arranged the various kinds of wool on cards, and discriminating with geometrical exactness the fineness of that produced from different races of sheep, the finest are some specimens from Saxony, his own was next, fine wool from Spain (Leon) is inferior to his in the proportion of 11 to 16; and the wool of New South Wales, of which he has specimens, is inferior to Spanish. The celebrity of the Moegelin flock is so widely diffused, that the rams and ewes are sold at enormous prices.”

Mr. Jacob's book was published in 1819. He gives the return of live stock in Prussia, 1805 :—

“LIVE STOCK OF ALL KINDS IN PRUSSIA, 1805.

	Number.		Income from
Horses and Foals...	1,661,800	...	£ 312,983
Cows.....	2,355,902	...	9,077,566
Oxen and Bulls ...	1,255,000	...	included in horses
Heifers and Calves..	1,646,918	...	1,062,250

DE'S TRAVELS—LIVE STOCK IN PRUSSIA.

LIVE STOCK IN PRUSSIA (CONTINUED.)

	Number.		Income from
Sheep and Lambs ...	11,230,000	...	1,663,450
Swine	2,644,000	...	622,408
Goats	181,000	...	7,441
Asses and Mules ...	9,680	...	included in horses
Beehives	52,100	...	356,091
Feathered tribes....		...	266,475
			<hr/> £13,368,664 <hr/>

se extracts from Dr. Bright and Mr. Jacob, though inserted earlier than they ought to be in chronological order, show that the opinions given, particularly by Mr. Jacob, as to the improvement in fine wool and the breed of merino sheep, are correct. They may answer well in Germany, but cannot answer in a highly cultivated country, where the flesh of the sheep is of more value than the fleece, and where turnip husbandry is common, and so essential to agricultural improvement: the policy of the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Coke, and others, who studied what would be most profitable to the farmer, was therefore much better for themselves and for their country, than the policy of those who gave all their attention to the production of the finest fleeces, regardless of the weight of carcase and of fleece.

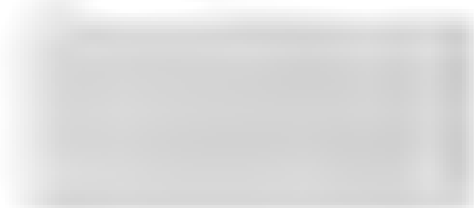
It has been already stated, that His Majesty King George III. had, from the most patriotic motives, obtained merino sheep from Spain, and paid the greatest attention to his small flock; and, in order to ascertain how far the quality of the wool would bear competition with the wools of Spain, as well as with the wools of the Spanish sheep introduced into Germany, his Majesty produced samples of those wools, which he entrusted to Sir Joseph Banks, who requested the opinion of persons conversant with the subject; and amongst others, he applied to John Maitland, Esq., member of Parliament for Chippenham, who for more than forty years was chairman of the wool and woollen trade in London. The result of that investigation will be best expressed in Mr. Maitland's own words:—

“It has, I believe, been doubted by many, whether the quality of English short wool is equal to that which is pro-



1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list is as follows:

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list is as follows:





duced on the Continent; but I had an opportunity, through the medium of a highly distinguished character, not less eminent for the extent of his philosophical researches than from his virtues in private life, of comparing the various wools produced in Germany with those of the growth of England; and on that occasion I had the satisfaction to ascertain that the short, as well as the long wools of this country, were superior to those of the north of Europe. The opportunity to which I allude, derived its origin from the following circumstance. Samples had been collected by the direction of a certain great personage, from Germany, with the express view of ascertaining their corresponding qualities with the different wools grown in England; and that not from motives of idle curiosity, or of private advantage, but in the regular pursuit of the one great object of his long and glorious life, viz., the advancement of the happiness, independence, and prosperity of his people. These samples were, at the instance of my right honourable and respected friend, sent to me, with a request that I would obtain the most correct intelligence possible, as to the several qualities, and amongst a variety of questions calculated to elicit complete information on the subject, with the assistance of the best judges of this article of wool in London, and of the best informed manufacturers from the different clothing counties who were then in town, I had the gratification of being enabled, after a minute and extensive examination, to make a satisfactory report on the subject; which was graciously received, with the condescending assurance that it would not be made public, in consequence of my expressed wish, stated to my right honourable friend to that effect when I undertook the business, under the apprehension that no possible good could be derived from the communication to foreigners. One result, however, of the examination of the wools in question, on which we all agreed, and which I may be permitted, without impropriety, to mention, was, that two only of the samples submitted to our inspection possessed the same strength of staple, or hair, as the wools grown in this country, whether for combing or carding class (which most resembles them in all other respects), and those two samples were decidedly finer and better in quality than any wool of English

growth with which we could compare it. From their appearance they were considered to be, in point of quality, equal to the best Leoness wool when imported from Spain, although it was impossible at that period to state positively that they were so; for although his Majesty, in the preceding year, had employed Sir Joseph Banks, who committed these samples to me, and procured some of the merino sheep from Spain, and although a number of them, by his judicious management and indefatigable attention, had been brought into this country, yet no wool cut from them, or their progeny, since their arrival, had at that time passed into the hands of British manufacturers, so as to enable us to say more on the subject of such wool, had it been before us, than on these samples, which were confessedly from the Merino race, which has been some time domiciled in Saxony, but none of which had before been seen, to my knowledge, in England.

"In 1792 his Majesty succeeded in adding to his Anglimerino flock five rams and thirty-five ewes, of the very highest class in Spain, and from these sheep the best stock now in this country is derived; but this was not accomplished without considerable difficulty, and the exertion of an influence which an inferior person did not possess, several individuals of great influence having previously, and ineffectually, exerted every means in their power to accomplish the same object. Nevertheless a large number of merino sheep was soon afterwards imported from Spain into England, and some of them of good family; but none of those which I have had an opportunity to examine, were in my opinion equal to the last importation of the royal flock."

His Majesty distributed some of the Spanish sheep amongst agriculturists most likely to preserve the quality of the wool: and in August, 1804, part of his flock was sold at public auction, in order to excite attention, and spread the breed more generally through the country. The account of that celebrated royal auction ought to be placed on record. The following is copied from the *Morning Chronicle* :—

"SALE OF PART OF HIS MAJESTY'S FLOCK OF SPANISH SHEEP, IN AUGUST, 1804.

"It is a singular circumstance, considering the great length

of time that fine or broad woollen cloths have been in use in Europe, that the wool from a particular breed of sheep, kept only in Spain, where there are exceedingly large flocks of them, should have been essential to its fabrication. These sheep are known by the name of the Merino breed, and were peculiar to Spain till about the year 1786, when the unfortunate Louis XVI. introduced a flock of them into France, the progeny of which are still subsisting, and their wool possessing all its original qualities, upon the national farm of Rambouillet, and in the neighbouring communes. His Britannic Majesty was not unmindful of this object, and within a year of the same period, began, and continued from time to time, the importation of small flocks of merino sheep, which were, with his Majesty's known liberality, presented to different agriculturists and breeders, or sold with a view of disseminating the breed, at the prices common for English sheep at that time. In the year 1792, through the medium of Lord Auckland, who had been ambassador in Spain, his Majesty procured from the Marchioness del Campo d'Alange, forty of the best Spanish sheep, in exchange for eight fine English coach horses. This flock his Majesty confided to the care of Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., President of the Royal Society, who has paid more attention to the subject of wool, and is, without doubt, the most perfectly informed, on all points relating to its production and uses, than any other man. His Royal Highness the Duke of York's park, at Oatlands, was selected as the scene of these interesting and national experiments.

“ Sir Joseph Banks had assiduously employed himself upon his estate in Lincolnshire, since the first introduction of Spanish sheep, in trying the effect on wool and carcase of all the crosses that could be made between them and the different breeds in England; but on receiving charge of the royal merino flock, in 1792, he disposed of all his own sheep in which there was any mixture of Spanish; and has confined his views, in the management of the royal flock, to the preservation of the original breed of 1792, having since admitted no crosses, not even of newly imported sheep, however superior their pretensions. These sheep are very far from handsome in shape, and too generally look thin and poor; they are principally distinguished from other sheep, next to the

THE SPANISH SHEEP OF GEORGE III.

For fineness of the fibre of their wool, by the dirty appearance of their fleece outside, though beautifully white, owing to the greasy matter, or yolk, as it is called, which it abounds, causing the dirt of the land to adhere to the wool: they have also white faces of a peculiar silky appearance, just above the nose and two or three singular wrinkles; and upon the head, behind the horns, is a soft protuberance of flesh: they are also less in size than a great proportion of English sheep. The merino flock continued healthy, and increased very fast, but the buyers of wool were averse to the idea that any wool grown in England could answer the purpose of that imported from Spain, in the manufacture of fine cloth, and Sir Joseph Banks was unable to obtain more than 2s. per lb. for the wool of these sheep in 1796, and only 2s. 6d. in 1797. In 1798 this wool was washed previous to the sale, and sorted into three different parcels, according to its fineness, as is done in Spain, viz., prime wool, or *Raffino R.*, which sold for 5s. 6d., the choice locks (or *Fines*) *F.*, 3s. per lb., and the *T.'s* 1s. 6d. per lb. In 1801, the *R.'s* fetched 5s. 6d., the *F.'s* 3s. 6d., and the *T.'s* 1s. 9d. per lb. Eleven wether sheep were this year fattened, and at Christmas, 1801, sold at good prices, the mutton also proving excellent in quality, and very unexpectedly the pelt wool, or that obtained from the skins by the fell-mongers, produced 10s. for each sheep, after all the expenses attending it were paid.

"In 1802, Sir Joseph Banks obtained for the wool of his Majesty's Spanish flock, the *R.'s* 5s. 9d., the *F.'s* 3s. 6d., and the *T.'s* 1s. 9d.; and in the year 1803, the prime, or *R.'s*, 6s. 9d., the *F.'s* 4s. 6d., and the *T.'s* 2s. The quantity of the inferior sorts of wool from each fleece has evidently decreased since these sheep were in England, and at the same time less of the frisks will be found in any number of fleeces of his Majesty's wool, than in the same number and weight of fleeces produced in Spain, a proof that the wool is not disposed to degenerate in our climate. The wool of the present season was washed on the backs of the sheep, in the English way, and sold altogether, without scouring or sorting, at 4s. 6d. per lb. The Royal merino flock then consisted of 100 ewes, 5 rams, and 78 lambs; these 78 lambs being the produce of

90 ewes, with which 4 rams were used ; also of 23 shearling rams, intended for sale, which took place in a paddock in Richmond Park.

“ Among those who have most distinguished themselves in seconding the noble views of his Majesty, in introducing and extending the breed of these sheep, are to be named Lord Somerville, Dr. Parry, of Bath, Mr. Bridge, of Winford Eagle, Mr. Ridgway, of Upperton, Mr. Tollett, of Gloucestershire, the Bath Agricultural Society ; while Mr. John Maitland, of Basinghall-street, Mr. Laycock, of the Borough, and Mr. Edridge, of Chippenham, have done themselves great honour in their endeavours to promote the sale and manufacture of English merino wool. Mr. Giblet, of Bond-street, and Mr. King, of Newgate Market, are also deserving of great praise for their exertions in removing the prejudice which was generally entertained against Spanish mutton, on the first introduction of merinos into this country.

“ Mr. Tollett possesses a ram bred from a ram and ewe sold to him from the Royal flock in 1801, which in June last yielded 11½ lbs. of wool, of very good quality. The same care and attention which has been for some years past paid to the improvement of other breeds of sheep in this kingdom, by breeding constantly from the most perfect animal in the flock, in preference to others, has succeeded in the carcasses of several of the Royal merino flock ; and as Sir Joseph Banks, in a late address to the public, observes—‘ give a justifiable hope, that by a due selection of rams, and a correct judgment in matching them, merino sheep will, in time, be produced with carcasses perfectly fashionable, and wool as perfectly fine.’ The same address, after noticing that the demand for his Majesty’s merino sheep increases prodigiously, particularly in Gloucestershire, thus introduces the notice of the present sale from his Majesty’s flock :—

“ ‘ As speculation in the value of Spanish sheep is evidently on the increase, and a reasonable probability now appears that his Majesty’s patriotic exertions in introducing the breed will at least be duly appreciated and properly understood, it would be palpably unjust, should the views of those who wish to derive a fair advantage from the sale of the progeny of Spanish sheep, purchased by them from the Royal stock, be

in future impeded by a continuation of the sale of the King's sheep, at prices below their real value.

“ ‘ This circumstance having been stated to the King, his Majesty was graciously pleased to permit the rams and ewes that are to be parted with from the Royal merino flock this year, to be sold by auction, in the same manner as is done at Woburn, by his Grace the Duke of Bedford, and at Holkham, by Mr. Coke, on the presumption of this being the most likely manner of placing the best individuals of their improved breeds in the hands of persons most likely to preserve, and further to improve them.’ ”

“ Notwithstanding the heavy and almost incessant rain, nearly fifty gentlemen and breeders of sheep assembled soon after eleven o'clock, at the pens of sheep intended for sale, and minutely examined them. Sir Joseph Banks, who had but just got abroad from a severe fit of the gout, ventured out, and staid in the field the whole time.

“ About two o'clock, Mr. Farnham, the auctioneer, of Richmond, opened the business by a short but neat speech, on his Majesty's gracious views in promoting the breed of excellent sheep before them, and read the printed conditions of the sale. After Sir Joseph Banks had stated that his friends, Sir Richard Worsley, of the Isle of Wight, and Sir John Reddall, of Scotland, not being able to attend, had commissioned him to bid for six or more of the sheep, the sale commenced, at which much keen bidding was seen among the amateurs and breeders present.

“ The first twenty-three lots consisted each of a single shearling.

“ Lot 1 was a ram, labouring under a temporary privation of sight, which Sir Joseph Banks, and Richard Stanford, the King's shepherd, stated to be not very uncommon with these sheep at this season of the year, but from which there was no doubt he will perfectly recover. The weight of his fleece was stated to be at the last shearing, 3 lb. 4 oz. : he was knocked down to Captain Macarthur, at £6 15s., after Sir Joseph Banks had apprised him that an old Act of Parliament stood in the way of exporting sheep from this country, the Captain's object being to take the sheep which he was purchasing to New South Wales, in about three weeks time,

SALE OF THE SPANISH SHEEP OF GEORGE III. 363

to add to the flock which he is rearing near Botany Bay, with a degree of success which promises to be of the greatest national importance.

“The sheep intended for lot 2 were unwell, and not offered for sale. Lot 3, fleece 4lbs. 3oz., was sold to George Holme Sumner, Esq., for £7 12s.

Lot.	Weight of Fleece.			Price.				Purchasers.
	lbs.	oz.		£.	s.	d.		
4	...	3	0	9	10	0	...	Mr. Knowles.
5	...	4	0	10	10	0	...	Mr. Buckingham.
6	not weighed			11	0	0	...	Captain Macarthur.
7	...	3	12	6	7	0	...	Sir Joseph Banks.
8	...	5	4	31	10	0	..	J. W. Allan, Esq.
9	...	3	12	31	10	0	...	Mr. Knowles.
10	...	3	6	10	10	0	...	Mr. Leith.
11	...	3	12	15	15	0	...	Captain Macarthur.
12	...	5	4	28	17	0	...	G. H. Sumner.
13	...	3	4	16	16	0	...	Captain Macarthur.
14	not weighed			15	15	0	...	Mr. Warren.
15	...	4	12	23	2	0	...	Captain Macarthur.
16	...	4	4	21	0	0	...	Sir Joseph Banks.
17	...	4	12	12	0	0	...	Mr. Warren.
18	...	4	8	14	14	0	...	Sir Joseph Banks.
19	...	4	12	21	0	0	...	G. H. Sumner.
20	...	4	6	15	15	0	...	Sir Joseph Banks.
21	...	5	0	26	5	0	...	Mr. Buckingham.
22	..	4	3	21	0	0	...	Sir Joseph Banks.
23	...	4	8	22	1	0	...	Captain Macarthur.
24	...	5	12	44	2	0	...	Mr. Freeman.
25	not weighed			7	17	6	...	General Robinson.
26	...	5	4	18	18	0	...	G. Holme Sumner.
27	...	7	8	39	18	0	...	Mr. Jefferson.
28	not weighed			26	5	0	...	Mr. Hearen.
29	...	do.		25	4	0	...	J. P. Anderson.
30	...	7	12	28	7	0	...	Captain Macarthur.
31	...	6	8	25	4	0	...	Mr. Kidd.
32	not weighed			9	9	0	...	Mr. Buckingham.
33	...	do.		8	8	0	...	Mr. Hallett.
34	...	do.		7	17	6	...	Mr. Buckingham.
35	...	do.		7	7	0	..	Mr. Freeman.
36	...	do.		8	8	0	...	Ditto.
37	...	do.		9	19	6	...	Mr. Eyton.
38	...	do.		11	11	0	...	Ditto.

Lot.	Weight of Fleeces. lb. oz.	Price.			Purchasers.
		£.	s.	d.	
39	not weighed ...	7	7	0	... Mr. Knowles.
40	... do.	8	8	0	... Mr. Buckingham.
41	... do.	11	11	0	... Captain Macarthur.
42	... do.	9	9	0	... Mr. Campbell.
43	... do.	9	9	0	... Colonel Greville.
44	... do.	7	7	0	... General Robinson.
45	... do.	6	6	0	... Mr. Hallett.

"The sale ended about a quarter past 4 o'clock, when Sir Joseph Banks stated, that the prices at which the sheep had been sold exceeded His Majesty's and his own expectations and wishes on the subject, His Majesty never having before sold a Spanish sheep for more than six guineas: they were always before sold by private contract, while he had given away more than 170 sheep; but from the eagerness exhibited this day in bidding, he had no doubt but His Majesty's intentions of placing the sheep in those gentlemen's hands who would most value and attend to the increasing of the breed, would be fully answered. It was stated that the sheep might stay three days in His Majesty's pasture, or even a longer time, at the risk of the purchaser, if not convenient to remove them sooner; but such was the eagerness of the buyers to bear off their lots, that two or three carts appeared in the field in a few minutes, and were loaded with sheep, and one gentleman took away a sheep he had bought, in a chaise with him."

The feeling excited by the above sale caused still greater attention to the quality of wool. At the Lewes Wool Fair, Lord Sheffield made several communications respecting the growth of fine wool in England. He observed, that it was now well known that the fleeces of Spanish or Merino sheep were not debased in quality by the English climate, as had been so satisfactorily proved by Dr. Parry and Mr. Tollett. It might, therefore, answer to the wool-growers to cross their South Down ewes with Spanish rams, especially as the shape of those introduced by His Majesty from Spain was so superior to the merinos which had been brought by individuals into this country about twenty years ago. That Mr. Tollett, who had sheep from His Majesty's flock, had sold their wool at 6s. 4d. per lb. when brought to the state of imported Spanish wool, and that he had sold his fleeces entire at 4s. 3d. per lb.

Dr. Parry, whose name has already been mentioned as paying great attention to the improvement of the British fleece, published the following work in 1800 :—

“ FACTS and OBSERVATIONS tending to show the practi-
 “ cability and the advantage of producing in the British
 “ Isles Clothing Wool equal to that of Spain; with Hints
 “ towards the management of Fine-wool Sheep. By
 “ CALEB HELLIER PARRY, M.D.”

For which work the thanks of the Bath and West of Eng-
 land Agricultural Society were voted to him, together with a
 piece of plate.

The following Table of comparative Diameter of various Clothing
 Wools made by Dr. Parry :—

	Outward End.	Middle.	Inner End.	Mean.
Spanish Ewe	1232	1433	1468	1378
Lasteria Pile	1148	1218	1472	1284
Ewe.....	1048	1282	1320	1234
Coronet Pile	1221	1220	1277	1239
Native Merino Ram.	1146	1234	1333	1234
Saxon.....	1220	1191	1194	1202
Pictet's Merino Ram	1183	1228	1178	1193
Best Nigretti Pile ...	1173	1173	1222	1187
Alva Pile	1083	1234	1228	1178
Rambouillet Ewe	1067	1134	1228	1137
Imperial Pile	1110	1047	1237	1133
Morte.....	1110	1021	1300	1138
Ryeland	1043	1198	1143	1124
South Down	1028	1141	1174	1110
Anglo Nigretti Ram	1013	1019	1148	1037
Charenton Ram	1004	922	1090	1003
Ryeland Ram	841	730	1076	889
Cape Fourth Cross...	833	908	970	937
Wilts Ewe	823	721	888	806

That was followed by a quarto volume, published by Lord Somerville, President of the Board of Agriculture. Lord Somerville gives a dissertation on the growth and production of sheep and wool, as well Spanish as English. His Lordship, being extremely partial to the Spanish breed of sheep, contends for the great superiority of Spanish management above that of English: he deprecates the rage for breeding long-woolled sheep, such as Lincoln, Cotswold, Romney Marsh, and New Leicester; and contends that the climate of Great

THE BREED OF FINE WOOLLED SHEEP,

from the most northern to the most southern point, grow wools of the finest possible quality. His Lordship greatly prejudiced against the manufacturer, and states, in secure terms, that, for the more effectual discouragement made from British wool, some manufacturers, through mistaken policy, had sent cloths to the London market by ill-manufactured.

The rage of the day was betwixt those who advocated the use of sheep and feeders of the New Leicester, improved South Down sheep, carrying heavier fleeces, while the merino did not stand the competition in price, while their success and increase in Germany has been the means of giving large supplies of fine wool, and of improving our manufacture of fine cloth.

The value of merino sheep has not been confined to the continent of Europe, but has been equally felt in our Australian colonies. It will be seen that among the purchasers of His Majesty's flock, Capt. Macarthur bought more lots than any other individual, and his account of the introduction of sheep into New South Wales is so interesting that it is given in his own words.

"STATEMENT of the INTRODUCTION and PROGRESS of
"the BREED of FINE WOOLLED SHEEP in NEW
"SOUTH WALES, delivered at the Right Honourable
"Lord Hobart's Office, 26th July, 1803. By JOHN
"MACARTHUR."

"The samples of wool brought from New South Wales having excited the particular attention of the merchants and principal English manufacturers, Captain Macarthur considers it his duty respectfully to represent to His Majesty's Ministers, that he has found, from an experience of many years, the climate of New South Wales is peculiarly adapted to the increase of fine wool'd sheep; and that from the unlimited extent of luxuriant pastures with which that country abounds, millions of those animals so valuable may be raised in a few years, with but little other expense than the hire of a few shepherds.

The specimens of wool that Captain Macarthur has since have been inspected by the best judges of wool in

this kingdom, and they are of opinion that it possesses a softness superior to many of the wools of Spain; and that it certainly is equal, in every valuable property, to the very best that is to be obtained from thence.

“ The sheep producing this fine wool are of the Spanish kind, sent originally from Holland to the Cape of Good Hope, and taken from thence to Port Jackson.

“ Captain Macarthur, being persuaded that the propagation of those animals would be of the utmost consequence to this country, procured, in 1797, three rams and five ewes, and he has since had the satisfaction to see them rapidly increase, their fleeces augment in weight, and the wool very visibly improves in quality. When Captain Macarthur left Port Jackson in 1801, the heaviest fleece that had been then shown weighed only three pounds and a half; but he has received reports of 1802, from which he learns that the fleeces of his sheep have increased to five pounds in the grease, (the average weight of the fleeces of the fine wool'd sheep of New South Wales, washed, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.,) and that the wool is finer and softer than the wool of the preceding year. The fleece of one of the sheep originally imported from the Cape of Good Hope has been valued there (in London) at 4s. 6d. per pound; and a fleece of the same kind, bred in New South Wales, is estimated at 6s. per pound.

“ Being once in possession of this valuable breed, and having ascertained that they improved in that climate, he became anxious to extend them as much as possible; he therefore crossed all the mixed breed ewes of which his flocks were composed with Spanish rams. The lambs produced from this cross were much improved; but when they were again crossed, the change far exceeded his most sanguine expectations. In four crosses, he is of opinion no distinction will be perceptible between the pure and the mixed breed. As a proof of the extraordinary and rapid improvement of his flocks, Captain Macarthur has exhibited the fleece of a coarse-wool'd ewe, that has been valued at 9d. a pound; and the fleece of the lamb, begotten by a Spanish ram, which is allowed to be worth 3s. a pound.

“ Captain Macarthur has now about four thousand sheep, amongst which there are no rams but of the Spanish breed.

MACARTHUR'S AUSTRALIAN SHEEP.

so that they will, with proper care, double themselves every two years and a half; and that in twenty years will be so increased, as to produce as much fine wool as is imported from Spain and other countries at an annual expense of £1,800,000 sterling. To make the principle perfectly plain upon which Captain Macarthur founds this assertion, he begs to state that half his flock has been from thirty ewes purchased in 1793, out of a ship from Spain, and from about eight or ten Spanish and Irish sheep purchased since. The other half of his flock were obtained in 1801, purchases from an officer who had raised them in the same manner, and about the same number of ewes that Captain Macarthur commenced with. This statement proves that the sheep have multiplied more rapidly than it is calculated they will do in future; but this is attributed to the first ewes being of a more prolific kind than the Spanish sheep are found to be; for since Captain Macarthur has directed his attention to that breed, he has observed the ewes do not so often produce double lambs.

"As a further confirmation of the principle of increase that Captain Macarthur has endeavoured to establish, and which he is positive time will prove to be correct, he would refer to the general returns transmitted from New South Wales. In 1796 (since when not one hundred sheep have been imported), one thousand five hundred and thirty-one were returned as the public and private stock of the colony. In 1801, six thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven were returned; and, although between those periods all the males have been killed as soon as they became fat, yet there is a surplus over the calculation of 653.

"Captain Macarthur is so convinced of the practicability of supplying this country with any quantity of fine wool it may require, that he is earnestly solicitous to prosecute this, as it appears to him, important object; and on his return to New South Wales, to devote his whole attention to accelerate its complete attainment. All the risk attendant on the undertaking he will cheerfully bear—he will require no pecuniary aid—and all the encouragement he humbly solicits, is the protection of Government, permission to occupy a sufficient tract of unoccupied lands to feed his

flocks, and the indulgence of selecting from the convicts such men for shepherds as may, from their previous occupations, know something of the business.

(Signed)

“ JOHN MACARTHUR.

“ London, 26th July, 1803.”

Such was the commencement of the growth of wool in New South Wales. Sheep were soon afterwards introduced into Van Diemen's Land.

Australian wool has a peculiar softness, with length of staple, which is attributed chiefly to the climate; it is found best adapted for combing purposes, in the finer branches of merino, shallis, and such goods, much in demand for ladies' wear, both at home and in foreign countries, having the strength and length of Leicester wool, with the fineness and softness of Spanish wool. From the foregoing statement, given by Captain Macarthur, it would appear that the first introduction of sheep into the Australian colonies was by himself in 1801: that, however, was not the case. The following extracts are from Lieutenant-Governor Collins's "Account of New South Wales," published in 1804.

“ In 1788, the Governor had the mortification to learn that five ewes and a lamb had been destroyed at a farm, supposed to have been killed by dogs belonging to the natives. This, to the happy inhabitants of Great Britain, may appear a circumstance too trivial to record, but to the founders of a new colony, it would be of magnitude sufficient to be by them deemed a public calamity: so much do situations exalt or diminish the importance of circumstances.

“ The number of sheep that were landed in this country have been considerably lessened; they were, of necessity, placed on ground, and compelled to feed on grass that had never before been exposed to air or sun, and which consequently did not agree with them; a circumstance much to be lamented, as without stock, the settlement must for years remain dependant on the mother country for means of subsistence.”

The following table, taken from the same authority, shows the rapid increase of sheep prior to the period mentioned by Captain Macarthur:—

AUSTRALIAN SHEEP.

Massive Increase of Sheep in New South Wales.

	Sheep.		Sheep.
1788.....	29	1799..	No return.
1792.....	105	1800.....	6124
1793.....	526	1801.....	6757
1796.....	1531	1802	No return.
1797.....	2457	1803.....	10157
1798.....	3902		

CHAPTER IX.

FROM 1805 TO 1810.

Luccock on English Wool—Facts and Observations relative to Sheep and Wool, by Lord Somerville—Bakewell on the Influence of Soil and Climate on Wool, with Notes by Lord Somerville—On the Introduction of Merino Sheep into different States of Europe, by G. P. Lasteyrie—The Flock of Rambouillet—Sale of Sheep and Wool—Sheep of the Cape of Good Hope—Italy—Great Britain—On the Management of Merino Sheep in Saxony—Mackenzie's Travels in Iceland—Account of the Sheep in Iceland—Walton's Account of Peruvian Sheep—The Llama, Alpaca, Huanaco, Vigonia, and Common Sheep.

“THE NATURE AND PROPERTIES OF WOOL, ILLUSTRATED WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE ENGLISH FLEECE. BY JOHN LUCCOCK, WOOLSTAPLER.”

THIS is a most valuable work, and is deservedly considered the standard book upon wool. Mr. Luccock divides the subject into sections—

- “1. On Wool in General;
- “2. On Cultivated Wool;
- “3. On the Essential Qualities of Wool;
- “4. On the Wool of England;”

and closes with general remarks.

It is impossible, by any extracts, to give a fair and just idea of this excellent publication; it must be read and studied to be properly understood; and the author, uniting the practical information which he obtained in his daily employment, with a well cultivated mind and great talent, was eminently fitted for such a work.

After an account of the varieties of wool in different countries, Mr. Luccock gives his opinion that wool, in its natural state, so far as it can be gathered from history, was originally black or brown, and he endeavours, from the

account given of Jacob's sojourn in Mesopotamia, to trace the origin of improvements in wool, as well as in the change of colour.

"The laniferous animals were early diffused over the western parts of Asia: the time when they were introduced into Europe is too remote to come within the range of authentic history. At first, probably, they were domesticated for the sake of their milk, the common nutriment even now of most pastoral nations. But this was not long the sole object of their owner's care, for he soon found that their skins also were capable of contributing very materially to his comfort, especially in damp situations and mountainous countries. In this state of society, sheep and goats appear to have been thought of nearly equal value, and if there was any preference, it was given to the latter animals.

"Perhaps the amelioration of the fleece, like the improvement of mankind in most of the useful arts, was less the result of design than accident. The Mouflon, the Argali of Dr. Pallas, which is now perhaps entirely banished from Europe, bears so great a resemblance to our domestic sheep, and possesses so many of its properties, as to be deemed by naturalists the parent stock; and if that were really so, it must have advanced considerably, before we have any particular account of its changes. The first flock that is minutely described, was found about seventeen hundred and sixty years before the Christian æra, in Mesopotamia, or that part of Persia which lies between the Euphrates and Tigris. It was perfectly domesticated, consisted of both goats and sheep, the former of which were black, and the latter a brown colour, a circumstance which proves that it had undergone less alteration than might have been expected. The state of the flock excited no surprise in the mind of a traveller who had gone thither from Syria, which it probably would have done had it not been familiar to his own country, and appears to intimate that black and brown were the usual colours of those animals throughout the extent of both countries. In his native land, moreover, he had superintended the descendants of flocks and herds, which, about one hundred and fifty years before, were brought out of Egypt; and if these continued to be of a dark and dingy hue, it is more than probable

that their progenitors were of no other colour, and that the flocks of the then known world were in this respect nearly similar. During his residence in a foreign land, he continued the profession of a shepherd, and produced little or no alteration in the colour of his fleeces for the space of fourteen years. At the end of this time, the capricious temper of his master induced one to offer, and the other to accept, as the reward of his continued services, that portion of the flocks which had any white in them, and those lambs and kids which should be produced with a mottled coat, whether their dams were like themselves, or of one uniform colour. As a skilful breeder, he took proper measures to produce a ring-streaked and spotted race; while as one determined to enrich himself, he concealed the superiority of his knowledge,* and the means which he adopted. From this apparent trivial circumstance, arose that entire change in the breed of flocks, which was first witnessed in the eastern world, and which is known to have established itself at successive periods in the western. It was not owing to the demands of manufactures, nor even to the volatility of taste, but is one of those numerous circumstances in human affairs, which history often hints at, but never pursues, although they are found to have an influence upon all succeeding generations.

“ This new variety of flocks soon established itself in the country where it was produced, and gradually diffused itself southward, as far as the deserts of Arabia, so that in the space of three hundred years its whiteness had become proverbial. Indeed the colour of the fleece must have been particularly attended to, and have attained a high degree of excellency; for a devout poet of that age, in the sublimity of his description, compares it to snow; and an amorous one, shortly afterwards, asserts that the teeth of his swarthy mistress were like a flock of sheep, new from the washing. And although, in these cases, we may be disposed to make allowance for the fancy of the poet, and the strength of eastern comparisons, yet we cannot but suppose that the beauty of the fleece gave such propriety to the simile, and

* He kept a due proportion of the sexes. Gen. 32, 14, Jacob sent his brother Esau, as a present, two hundred ewes and twenty rams.

delicacy to the compliment. In the desert, where people were less associated, and the influence of wealth and taste less prevalent, the sheep perhaps retained their original colour for nearly five centuries longer.

"This alteration in the colour of wool evidently took the line of the richest soils, and spread its influence most readily through countries where the arts of husbandry had made the greatest progress, but seldom passed their boundaries: from Persia, it descended the Euphrates, and, passing over the richest countries of Syria, it reached the borders of the Nile. But it is unreasonable to suppose that it proceeded only in that direction. If it extended itself northward, and ascended the river, it must soon have reached the banks of the Phasis, and have been spread through the old kingdom of Colchis, and in later ages have passed from thence into Greece."

Mr. Luccock, thus endeavouring to account for the white fleeces which now so much prevail, gives a very interesting and very useful dissertation on the management of sheep at different periods and in different countries, and points out many improvements in the fleece.

He explains most clearly the different properties of long and short wool, and their respective adaptation to the different manufactures to which they are applicable.

"In the present state of the woollen manufactures, the length of the staple is an object of very considerable importance. It is that which destines the fleece to fabrics very different in their nature, and produced by instruments of dissimilar construction. It will be difficult to convey to those who are not acquainted with the structure of the card and the comb, an idea of the mode in which they are managed, and the purposes for which they are used, sufficiently accurate to enable them to conceive of the object of the manufactures, or the qualities of the wool suited to their respective operations. The card is a small oblong board furnished with a number of short crooked wires or hooked teeth, upon which the wool to be wrought is hung, by drawing it over them in a direction contrary to that on which the hooks are bended. When full, the instrument is placed upon the thigh of the workman, with the teeth upwards, and held there by the left hand, assisted by a handle attached to the card, of similar construction, having

the teeth downwards, and in a direction opposite to those of the first, is drawn over it with the right hand. The operation is continued until the workman thinks the wool completely torn between the teeth, broken and blended, when by a particular mode of taking it from those instruments, he renders it fit for the spinning purposes and the spinning wheel. The object here is to break the wool completely, to blend it most intimately, and to form it into a thin roll or 'roveling' of the slightest texture imaginable, held together only by the natural hookedness of the pile, or that disposition which it has to assume a zigzag or waved form.

"Hence it is evident that the two chief qualities which *carding* wool requires, is shortness of pile, and a disposition in the hair to assume a crumpled or spring-like shape, and it appears scarcely possible that the staple of clothing wool, at least that part of it employed in the manufacture of the finer fabrics, can be too short, if it possess only that degree of crumpledness which will enable it to form a roveling.

"This peculiar shrivelling quality of wool cannot prevail in too high a degree, if it is destined to make any kind of goods which require a close and smooth surface; for the greater number of the minute curves which it contains in a given length of pile, so much the more may it be broken without injury, and every portion retain a sufficient degree of curvature to link it with its neighbour, forming an inconceivably thin and transparent texture. The thinner this texture can be produced, and the greater degree of surface that can be given to it, so much the longer thread will it yield, and the cloth made of it partake of a proportionable degree of delicacy. The necessity of this singular property of clothing wool is obvious, from the manner in which hair or straight and smooth pile is dissipated, when wrought upon the same engines; the particles possessing no means of uniting themselves together, drop singly from the machine, produce no roveling, and cannot be spun in the same way as woollen thread.

"The wool intended for the manufacture of worsted goods, of any description, is first reduced to a proper state for spinning by means of the *comb*, an instrument very different from the card, both in its structure and operation. It consists chiefly of a piece of wood very much shaped like the

letter T. Through the head or transverse part of it, which is generally about three inches broad, a number of very long sharp teeth are thrust: they are finely tapered, made of well tempered steel, and generally arranged in three rows, about thirty in each, and placed nearly at right angles to every part of the wood; the handle of the comb is represented by the perpendicular part of the letter. In using this instrument, the wool is carefully hung upon the teeth, in such a manner as to project over the front of the head: when sufficiently filled and firmly fixed, another comb of the same kind is drawn through the wool, so as to unravel and lay each hair of it smooth and even. If we consider the full comb as the human head, disgraced by a quantity of neglected long and dishevelled hair, which we reduce to its elegant order, we shall have a very just idea of the operation and the use of this instrument in the worsted manufacture. The very name shows its origin, application, and use.

“But the comb is used for another purpose than merely to lay the pile straight and even; for the staple of long wool commonly contains a considerable number of hairs shorter than the generality of those which compose the fleece, and also a number of long ones, which are tied in natural and indissoluble knots, highly prejudicial, when wrought into the worsted threads: these are collected by the process of combing betwixt the teeth of the instrument, and by a very curious and dexterous mode adopted to strip the comb of its longer pile, the workman leaves them there, until he has disposed of the long, clean and valuable wool, extracted by his fingers, and which, from an old English word most aptly denoting the shape he has given it, is denominated a sliver. When the instrument is cleared from the knots or noils, it is ready to repeat the operation. The comb, therefore, evidently requires that the wool to which it is applied possesses sufficient length to permit its arrangement upon the teeth; strength or toughness enough to endure, without being broken, the muscular force necessary to draw the instrument through it, and such a degree of curvedness as will enable it to form a close and compact sliver. The length of pile suited to the comb is upwards of four inches. The hosiery trade requires a considerable share of that which measures from four to eight

inches, and the longer kind is generally destined to the fabrication of worsted yarn, an article which admits of very great variety in the mode of its manufacture.

“ The shorter staple is applicable to woollen goods of almost every description, which, beside the whole quantity of this sort of fleece produced at home, require very large importations from abroad ; and no inconsiderable quantity of that pile, which has been grown to the length of combing wool, is submitted to the operation of the card. 'Tis chiefly that, however, which possesses the contracting in too great a degree, which is too weak for the comb, or is used to produce articles requiring a long and well raised knap.”

Under this head Mr. Luccock has given very interesting tables, showing the quantity of wool grown in each county of England, and the weight of the fleeces respectively ; also the relative quantity of wool grown adapted to combing and carding purposes, copies of which will be inserted, appended to the second volume.

The next section into which Mr. Luccock divides his work is—

“ *The wool of England.*”

“ In describing the fleeces of this country, it will be most proper to arrange them in two classes, which are distinguished from each other, both by the length of the staple, and the mode of manufacturing them ; the one adapted to the fabrication of woollen goods, and the other to that of worsted goods. The sheep from which these different kinds of staple are obtained, do not always run promiscuously in the same flock, or graze upon the same pasture, each being most commonly found upon its appropriate soil, and under a peculiar management. Sometimes the line which separates them is boldly drawn, at others the pastures are so mingled, or the qualities of the land so gradually change from those which are suitable to the heavier sheep, as to give the flock a sort of mongrel appearance, and the fleece an uncertain character. But human genius, always fertile in inventions and expedients, has rendered even this defect of the fleece advantageous to the interests of society, and has adapted it to the manufacture of stockings.”

“ Long wool is found in many detached parts of England, but much more commonly on the eastern than the western

side, and often nearer the coast than the middle of the kingdom. Among the larger ranges of long-woolled sheep, the first to be noticed, and the most northern, is situate near the mouth of the Tees. The second, which may properly be denominated the Lincolnshire district, comprehends the south-eastern point of Yorkshire, nearly the whole of Lincolnshire, and the fen lands of Huntingdonshire, Cambridge, and Norfolk. This kind of wool is found in the smaller marshes of Essex and of Kent, which surround the inlets of the sea, but is much more abundant in those of Romney and of Guildford. We meet with it in the counties of Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, upon the Cotswold Hills, in some detached parts of Lancashire, Oxford, Bedford, and Stafford, through the whole of Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, and Huntingdon, and along the banks of large rivers.

"In those extensive districts, some of which, widely separate from each other, a much greater difference is observable in the characteristic features of the sheep, than in the qualities of the pile which they produce. Long wool is remarkable for the similarity of the fleeces, both in weight and colour, in the staple and the quality of hair."

Mr. Luccock then gives an account of the different breeds of sheep, and the proportions of their wool in the various counties of England, those districts which have been already mentioned having the long-woolled sheep, the other parts of the country then producing the short-woolled sheep; but the inclosures which have since that period taken place, and the improved mode of industry, which produces food more adapted to the heavier and the larger fleeced sheep, have made a considerable alteration; for though the low and fenny districts produce the same description of sheep as they formerly did, the sheep of other parts have more approximated to the description and nature of long-woolled sheep, producing greater weight of flesh and heavier fleeces. But having already given the observations made by those deputed to travel through England, and report their opinion of sheep, to the Highland Society,* it is now unnecessary to copy the minute and interesting description of Mr. Luccock, who, in conclusion, adds his table showing the produce of English long and short wool, making—

* Vide p. 257 and following.

The total quantity of long wool ...	137,228	packs.
Do. short wool ...	245,290	do.
Do. lambs' wool ...	10,718	do.
<hr/>		
Total,	393,236	packs.

This quantity of wool, as estimated by Mr. Luccock, falls very far short of the quantity stated by Mr. Hustler in evidence before the House of Commons, viz. 600,000 packs, and in explanation thereof Mr. Luccock says, “ It is not necessary to search into records for the general opinion of the present day, that England and Wales produce about six hundred thousand packs of wool, as it is usually received without examination. I have not been able to discover upon what basis this conclusion rests, but it was formerly supposed that Great Britain produced that number of packs; and it seems probable, that some person, by a very easy mistake, has quoted the number as applicable to England alone, and the error has passed from one to another without being suspected or examined, until it has become an opinion so firm and settled, as to form the basis of reasoning even in the House of Commons. Indeed, the greatest mistakes that have been made upon this subject seem to arise from two sources,—the assumption of six hundred thousand packs as the produce of England and Wales, and the different quantity of land which is assigned as the extent of the kingdom. On subjects of this kind we can only form general opinions, and his are most likely to be accurate who collects facts with the most patient investigation, and reasons from them with the soundest judgment.”

“ FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS RELATIVE TO SHEEP, WOOL,
 “ PLOUGHS, AND OXEN; in which the importance of
 “ improving the short-woolled breeds of Sheep by a mix-
 “ ture of the Merino blood is demonstrated from actual
 “ practice; together with some Remarks on the Advan-
 “ tages which have been derived to the Author’s flocks
 “ from the use of Salt. By LORD SOMERVILLE. 1806.”

Lord Somerville paid great attention to the merino breed of sheep, and his Lordship’s observations relate chiefly to the exertion made to produce fine wool.

LORD SOMERVILLE

All breeds of sheep in this kingdom may be arranged to two classes,—those which produce the short, or clothing, and those which bear the long or combing wool. The quality of the flesh in each class follows the character of the wool; the short-woolled sheep, being close in the grain as to flesh, consequently heavy in the scale, and high-flavoured as to taste; the polled long-woolled sheep more open and loose in grain, larger in size,—‘*manufacturer’s mutton*,’ fit for such markets as supply collieries and shipping, but by no means, generally speaking, of such ready sale.

“Every practical man, looking over the map of England, who has given himself time to study the properties of the soil and climate, will admit, that one-half of the kingdom at least is by nature appropriated to the short-woolled, fine-grained breed: he might safely admit much more than half; for it, at length, appears, that our climate, from the most northern parts to the most southern, can grow wool of the finest possible quality. Taking into consideration the upland pastures, the light convertible tillage, the loamy soils and mountainous districts of the kingdom, such a proportion must be admitted to be moderate and just. But, notwithstanding the great importance of the short-woolled sheep to the nation, as well in a commercial point of view, both as to carcase and weight of fleece, as with respect to the great extent of the kingdom appropriated to those breeds, the whole attention both of farmers and breeders has for these thirty years past been absorbed in carrying to a degree of perfection, hardly credible, the heavy long-woolled sheep, such as Lincoln, Cotswold, Romney Marsh, and New Leicester, but more particularly the last. To such extreme perfection has the frame of this animal been carried, that one is lost in admiration at the skill and good fortune of those who worked out such an alteration. It would seem as if they had chalked out on a wall, a form perfect in itself, and then had given it existence. Such is the animal now, almost the reverse of what it was, and from whatever source it originated, whether from the care and nice observation of breeders, or from crosses with Ryeland or Dorset, is immaterial.” In eulogiums of such kind, Lord Somerville might have gratified his own feelings; his doctrines, too, might have been received for a time with







1. The first part of the text is a list of names and titles.

much popularity, but his duty to the public forbade it, and compelled him to take the part he did, and to impress upon the recollection of the farmers, that no breed of sheep should be carried into districts ill adapted, both as to soil and climate, to receive them; that in exertions to improve the carcase, they should not forget that there was such an article as wool; that, in opposition to the present doctrine, the improvement of the one was not incompatible with the improvement of the other; and that the breed of sheep, which, on any given quantity of land, carried for a continuance the most wool, as well as flesh, and both of the highest quality, was that breed to be preferred, of whatever description it might be, or from whatever quarter it might come.

Lord Somerville, after a violent tirade against the manufacturers, who preferred Spanish wool to that of Anglo-merino, mentions his own exertions.

“ Had he made known his intention of crossing the seas, for the purpose of bringing home a flock of Spanish sheep, his attempt must inevitably have failed, and might have risked the lives of those concerned with him. This attempt is not easily accomplished at any time, but is more than commonly difficult in a time of war. It was an object not only to obtain the sheep themselves, but the whole system of management adopted by those who have the care of those flocks in Spain. In both these particulars, the author has been fortunate enough to succeed. The sheep are selected from a transhumantes, or travelling merino flock, of undoubted high blood. The rams, twelve in number, were picked from a flock of two hundred, but, except the manso or bell wether, the males are left entire, on a presumption that they carry more wool than wethers, and equally fine. The couples (ewes and lambs) were selected from a number proportionably larger. Of the high blood and quality of this flock, the admiration of their shepherds, through whose flocks, twenty-two in number, they passed in the course of their journey, about the end of March, was sufficiently indicative, if not otherwise well established. Of their proportion as to carcase, and, which is equally material, their power of living hard, so as to carry much wool and flesh on a small surface of land, it will be as well to draw a conclusion from facts rather than assertion. That must

INFLUENCE OF SOIL AND CLIMATE ON WOOL,

it be deemed a bad breed, which, after a trial of some centuries, can maintain its high quality of wool, making two immense annual journeys, and in a less space of time than could be well supposed; more especially, when we recollect that the first journey commences when lambs are four months old, or even less. There are few breeds in this country that could support such periodical marches, for any length of time, and not suffer materially in their form, as well as quality of the carcase, for both are inseparable, being fed from the same source."

Soon after the above work was published, Mr. Bakewell wrote his book on sheep, sending the manuscript to Lord Somerville for his opinion before it was printed, and his Lordship added several notes.

"OBSERVATIONS ON THE INFLUENCE OF SOIL AND CLIMATE ON WOOL, from which is deduced a certain and easy method of improving the quality of English Cloathing Wools, and preserving the Health of Sheep, with Hints for the Management of Sheep, after shearing. An enquiry into the structure, growth, and formation of Wool and Hair; and Remarks on the means by which the Spanish breed of Sheep may be made to preserve the best qualities of its Fleece unchanged in different Climates. By ROBERT BAKEWELL, with occasional Notes and Remarks by LORD SOMERVILLE."

The above title conveys a full account of the object of this book. Mr. Bakewell divides his subject into five chapters, adding thereto an appendix and postscript.

CHAPTER 1.—On the soft and hard qualities of wools, and the great difference in the value of cloth made from wools, although each sort may be equally fine, and on the distinction between hair and wool.

Mr. Bakewell says,—

"Having been introduced into the wool business at an early period of my life, one of the first things that engaged my attention, was the remarkable difference in the softness of wools, equally fine, but the produce of different districts. The soft, silk-like feel peculiar to some wools, was not then so highly valued as at present; it gave, however, a decided

preference in the market to wools distinguished by this quality. A little attention to the wool from various districts soon discovered, that the soils most favourable to the production of this soft quality were first the argillaceous, next the siliceous, and it was well known, that calcareous soils, whether limestone or chalk, produced wools of a contrary quality, remarkable for the harshness of the touch."

Lord Somerville remarks upon the foregoing opinion,—

"There is hardly a doubt of the truth of this observation, as far as relates to chalk. I have noticed the harsh properties of wool on this soil, in its first growth after shearing, which could not arise from the effect of sun alone, but must be attributed also to the chalk with which the wool is impregnated, occasionally to the sheep hiding themselves in holes or hollows on the Downs, where the soil is thin, to avoid the fly; but I cannot agree to this observation as applicable to limestone soils in general. Lime certainly may be burnt from chalk, as well as from lime-stone: as chalk, it is conveyed into the fleece by contact, in its natural state; but lime-stone, if it does not lie deep below the surface, as is usually the case, is a hard and clean stone, and communicates nothing to the wool, until it is rendered into lime, by the strongest effect of fire. The doctrine militates also against the whole of our practice in the western counties; the pile of all our merino wool, even of the pure blood, is publicly admitted to be improved; it has been constantly upon a lime-stone soil, and the surface of the land manured with lime." Mr. Bakewell seems afterwards satisfied that he was in error as respects limestone.

CHAPTER II.—On the causes which produce the hard quality of wool in many parts of this island."

Mr. Bakewell attributes in this chapter the difference in the softness of wool to the chemical or mechanical action of particles of the soil on the surface of the fleece, and says—

"In part of Gloucestershire, the fleece acquires a deep orange colour, from the soil; in Hertfordshire and Warwickshire, and in every district having a red coloured soil, the wool is inclined to a brownish red; the fens of Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire communicate a dark bluish tint to the

INFLUENCE OF SOIL AND CLIMATE ON WOOL.

Wools on chalk soils are distinguished by their whiteness, and in every district the action of the soil is evinced by communicating the colour to the fleece, either by insinuating particles into the fleece and its fibres, or chemically uniting to the surface. The colour thus acquired is as indelibly fixed to the wool, as the colouring matter of an artificial dye; nor is its whiteness be perfectly restored by any process of art hitherto known."

Lord Somerville forms a very different opinion, viz. :—

"It is painful to offer an illustration of this subject from one's own practice; but lest an effect which is sometimes produced should be deemed certain and invariable, it behoves me to state, that I have repeated proof of the reverse in the instance of my own merino ram-hogs, which were bred on a red loamy soil, and a limestone subsoil; the wool being shorn after the yolk was well up, scoured to the purest white, which colour, being manufactured into white kerseymeres, after frequent washings it preserves it to this day. But the author's observations may be, and probably are, correct, with respect to fleeces more coarse and open in the pile."

"CHAPTER III.—On the means by which the soft quality of wool may be preserved in every situation, and the effects of soil and climate counteracted, where they are unfavourable to this quality.—On the preservation of sheep by the same means from cutaneous distempers, from the inclemency of climate, and from the sudden change of temperature after shearing."

Mr. Bakewell recommends smearing the sheep with oil, butter, and tar, and substituting bees' wax for tar.

"CHAPTER IV.—Improved method of washing sheep.—On the means of preventing the deterioration of wool in the Spanish breed of sheep.—On the qualities and defects of the finest fleeces from Saxony.—On the influence which pasture, heat, and cold and moisture have upon the staple.—Different effects of the climate of Spain and England upon the fleece."

The chief recommendation is the process mentioned in the last chapter, on greasing, "that an improved method of greasing fine-woolled sheep, should be adopted in every part of the kingdom, which would greatly improve the quality of

wool, and annually save many thousand sheep from perishing from the severity of the climate."

Mr. Bakewell gives some account respecting Spanish sheep, their treatment here and in Saxony, which observations were interesting at the period when the book was written, but the management has been greatly improved since that time, and it is therefore not necessary to dwell upon the details given, particularly as the next work enters more fully into that subject.

"AN ACCOUNT OF THE INTRODUCTION OF MERINO
"SHEEP into the different States of Europe, and at the
"Cape of Good Hope, describing the actual State of
"these Animals, the number of them, the different
"Modes of Treatment which they experience, and the
"Advantages which they render to Agriculture, Manu-
"factures, and Commerce. From the French of C. P.
"LASTEYRIE, translated by BENJAMIN THOMPSON.—
"With Notes by the Translator."

"*Sweden*.—Mr. Alstroemer, who had in 1715 made some experiments with a view to improve the wretched breeds of Sweden, did not think that this improvement should be limited to the good qualities obtained from the German and English sheep. Accordingly he imported, in 1723, a flock of merinos from Spain, and succeeded in the naturalization and propagation of this race in an austere climate, while it seemed incapable of existing unless in a warm climate. The merinos preserve in Sweden their original form, their fleeces are close and thick, the wool loses nothing in point of fineness, length, or elasticity, and the quantity of it is greater than in Spain, if the animal has had sufficient food. There are instances of rams whose fleeces have weighed 13 lbs.; the race is larger and stronger than the sheep are in Spain."

"*Denmark, and the Danish States*.—The Danes, encouraged by the example of Sweden, procured Spanish sheep from that kingdom about the year 1786, and the descendants of this importation exist at present, though in very small numbers. In 1797, the Danish government procured three hundred merino sheep from Spain, which were placed on the farm of Esserum, about eight leagues from Copenhagen.

This flock is composed of the best Spanish breeds, viz., the Escorial, the Guadeloupe, the Paular, the Infantado, the Montareo, and the Nigretti. The Escorial breed is accounted as to fineness of wool, the most perfect of all the travelling flocks of Spain. The Guadeloupe sheep are remarkable for their symmetry, as well as for the quantity and quality of their wool. The Paulars are equally gifted with the two latter perfections, but differ from the preceding in having a greater swell behind the ears, and a more evident degree of throatiness. The Nigretti flock is composed of the largest and strongest sheep of Spain.

“*Saxony*.—Upper Saxony is the country into which, after Sweden, the Spanish race of sheep is of the most ancient introduction; and it is in Saxony that this naturalization has been marked with the completest success, and has produced the most advantageous results. The different indigenous breeds of that country, some of which produce valuable, and others very coarse wool, have been equally improved by the Spanish breed imported at two different periods, viz., 1765 and 1768.

“The Elector of Saxony, wishing to repair the devastations occasioned in his dominions by a seven years’ war, obtained from the King of Spain, in 1765, a hundred merino rams, and two hundred ewes, selected from the best flocks of Spain.

“It was perceived, after a lapse of ten years, that the pure Spanish race had preserved its properties, and that animals were to be found of several crosses by the merino ram, which had acquired a fleece yielding to that of Spain neither in fineness nor beauty. As soon as it was evident from experience, that the Spanish ram could be easily reconciled to the climate, and the native breeds much improved by a series of crosses, attention was paid to the general improvement of flocks, and the Saxon government obliged those who occupied lands under the Elector to buy a certain quantity of Spanish breeds. But the farmers were soon convinced as to their real interests, and the Electoral Institution not being able to supply the demands which every day increased, the Prince imported from Spain, in 1778, a hundred rams and two hundred ewes, of which a part were old at prime cost, including the expenses of the voyage.

“ The merinos in Saxony are in general less, and produce shorter wool than in Spain ; some of the former are, nevertheless found, which surpass the latter in these respects ; the difference depends upon the quality and quantity of food allotted to the animals on different farms.

“ The Saxon government, which had devoted particular attention to the improvement of sheep, having ascertained by experience that the merino flocks would degenerate if neglected, now applied itself to the instruction of farmers, partly by establishing schools for shepherds, and partly by distributing profusely, works likely to be proper guides for those who resided in the country, as to the treatment of these valuable animals. The government wisely thought that it was alike its duty and its interest to assist in the pursuits of agriculture ; a measure which should ever be resorted to when individuals have neither the means, nor the degree of intelligence, nor the spirit necessary, in any novel and difficult undertaking. Saxony has been amply repaid for the care, and indemnified for the advance thus made on the part of government, by the immense advantages resulting therefrom to that country. The happy effect of this encouragement to agriculture have extended to other states of Germany.

“ *The Prussian States.*—Frederick II. imported from Spain, in 1786, a hundred rams and two hundred ewes, destined to improve the indigenous breeds. Part of these animals were placed at Stansdorf, near Berlin, and were lost by various disorders. The sheep, which were sent to different farms in the country, degenerated, in a great degree from the negligence of those in whose possession they were placed ; there are, however, flocks derived from the original stock, which yield wool as fine as their imported progenitors.

“ Since that period several Prussian breeders, encouraged by the example of Saxony, have bought Saxon merino sheep, and have successfully turned their attention to the subject, so that there are at present in the Prussian States, flocks which are entirely composed of animals yielding fine wool. Government has encouraged this propensity, by instituting schools for shepherds,—a sure way of disseminating good methods, and causing them to be adopted.

“Mr. Fink, a celebrated German agriculturist, is entrusted with the direction of the school established at Petersberg, in the province of Magdeburg. Twelve shepherds are there annually admitted to learn their art.

“Mr. Fink began the improvement of his flock in 1756, by introducing the Silesian breed, remarkable for the fineness of its wool. In 1768 he purchased some Saxon merino sheep, and in 1778 he imported a certain number of merinos from Spain.

“It is by the use of these animals that Mr. Fink has succeeded in imparting the highest degree of perfection to the native breeds of Prussia, the wool of which was extremely coarse. The success which has attended fine woolled sheep in the Prussian States, and the attention bestowed by the government on this source of rural industry and wealth, afford reason to suppose, that the number of pure Merinos, and of animals improved by that race, will continue to increase. Mr. Fink was sent to Spain for the purpose of obtaining a thousand merino sheep destined for this national object.

“*The Austrian States* and other parts of *Germany*.—The Empress Maria Theresa imported from Spain, in 1775, three hundred merinos, which were placed at Mercopail, an imperial farm in Hungary, where a school for farmers was instituted. From this seminary instructions were issued as to the treatment of fine woolled sheep, and the modes by which perfection might be attained through them.

“Austria has imported two flocks of merinos from Spain. The improvement of fine wool by using merino blood, is pursued in the Margraviates of Anspach and Bayreuth, by the institution of schools for shepherds, and by the results of an importation made in 1788, which consisted of forty rams, and some ewes, principally of the Saxo-merino and Roussillon breeds.

“The Duke of Wirtemberg, in 1786, obtained from Spain and Roussillon one hundred sheep, and he despatched two shepherds, to be placed under the care of Daubenton, at Montbar, for the purpose of being practically instructed in their pursuits. During the next year he sent one of the councillors thither, who, after having observed the method pursued at the Montbar farm, went with the two shepherds

into Spain, and there purchased a second flock, consisting of forty merino and twenty-five Roussillon sheep.

“ Merino sheep have been introduced into many other parts of Germany, where they have equally prospered.

“ *France.*—Colbert was the first who turned his attention to this important branch of national economy. This minister formed a design of improving the French flocks by importing from Spain and England, sheep more perfect than those to be found at that period in his native country. Daubenton devoted his mind to the study of a race so important to agriculture, to subsistence, clothing, and a multiplicity of arts connected with our innumerable wants. He thus describes the measures he adopted :—

“ ‘In 1766,’ says Daubenton, ‘ Daniel Charles Trudaine, Intendant of Finance, which office embraced the department of commerce, foresaw that the Spaniards would refuse to furnish us wool as soon as they had established manufactures extensive enough to employ all that of their own country. Trudaine felt how severe a blow this would be to the commerce of France, and therefore endeavoured to devise some mode of preventing the injury. Monsieur Trudaine and his son consulted Daubenton on the subject, in 1776, and were furnished with the means of obtaining rams and ewes from Roussillon, Flanders, England, Morocco, Thibet, and Spain. These experiments of M. Daubenton having proved to the government that it was easy to breed, rear, and preserve the Spanish race in France, M. Dangevillier, the governor of Rambouillet, amongst others, requested of the Spanish government to be supplied with a merino flock. The king gave orders, that a selection should be made from the flocks of highest repute in Spain, and in 1786, three hundred and sixty-seven rams and ewes were sent, under the direction of a mayoral and three other Spanish shepherds. When the original merino flock arrived at Rambouillet, it was composed of sheep possessed of uncommon beauty. It gradually increased till it was numerous enough to allow the sale of sheep annually, for the purpose of distributing them through the country, and at first several rams and ewes were given to individuals.’

The following table shows the general produce of wool and sale of sheep from the Rambouillet flocks between the years 1796 and 1801, a period at which the merino sheep made rapid progress :—

Year.	Average Weight of Fleece.	Price of Fleece.	Sheep.	Sold for Average.	Highest Price of Sheep.
1796	6lbs. 9oz.	5 francs.	{ Rams. Ewes.	71 francs. 107f.	200 francs.
1797	8lbs.	12f.	{ Rams. Ewes.	64f. 80f.	120f.
1798	7lbs.	10f. 50c.	{ Rams. Ewes.	60f. 78f.	150f.
1799	8lbs.	15f. 78c.	{ Rams. Ewes.	80f. 68f.	120f.
1800	8lbs.	24f.	{ Rams. Ewes.	331f. 209f.	510f.
1801	9lbs. 1oz.	27f. 95c.	{ Rams. Ewes.	412f. 236f.	630f.

“The experiments of Daubenton sufficiently proved, that the superfine wools grown in France were capable of undergoing every process to which those of Spain are subjected, and the cloths produced from them were in every respect as good.

“Besides the establishment at Rambouillet, flocks were kept at Perpignan, Pampadour, and Alfort.

“On the 24th May, 1808, an advertisement appeared in the *Moniteur*, giving notice of a sale of two hundred and twenty ewes and rams of the finest woolled Spanish breed, part of the flock kept on the national farm of Rambouillet; also two thousand pounds of superfine wool, being the present year's clip of the national flock, and one thousand three hundred pounds of wool, the produce of the mixed breeds of sheep kept on the menagerie at Versailles. This advertisement, which is official, is accompanied by a notice from Lucien Bonaparte, minister of the interior, as follows :—

“The Spanish breed of sheep, that produce the finest wool, introduced into France thirty years ago, has not manifested the smallest symptoms of degeneration; samples of the

wool of this valuable flock, which was brought from Spain in 1786, are still preserved, and bear testimony that it has not in the least declined from its original excellence, although the district where these sheep have been kept is not of the best quality for sheep farming: the drafts from the flocks which have been annually sold by auction, have always exceeded in value the expectation of the purchasers, in every country to which they have been carried, that is not too damp for sheep.

“ ‘ The weight of their fleeces is from six to twelve pounds each, and those of the rams is sometimes heavier.

“ ‘ Sheep of the ordinary coarse woolled breed, when crossed by a Spanish ram, produce fleeces double the weight, and far more valuable, than those of their dams; and if the cross is carefully continued, by supplying rams of the pure Spanish blood, the wool of the third or fourth generation is scarcely distinguishable from the original Spanish wool.

“ ‘ These mixed breeds are more easily maintained, and can be fattened at as small an expense as the ordinary breeds of the country.

“ ‘ The amelioration of wool at Rambouillet has made so great progress, that in a circle of twenty-four or thirty-six miles diameter, the manufacturers purchase thirty-five thousand pounds of wool, improved by two, three, or four crosses.

“ ‘ Those who wish to accelerate the amelioration of their flocks, by introducing into them ewes of this improved sort, may find abundance to be purchased in that neighbourhood at reasonable rates.’

“ *Holland.*—There are few regions of Europe possessing a temperature and soil which differ more than those of Spain and Holland. The merino sheep transported from a scorching climate to a cold and marshy country, have nevertheless preserved, in Holland, the qualities which distinguish them from other breeds, and have remained vigorously healthy, but they have not increased to much extent.”

Cape of Good Hope.—M. Lasteyrie, very sanguine, and deeply infected with the merino fever of his day, says, “ the preservation of the merino race in its utmost purity, at the Cape of Good Hope, on the marshes of Holland, and under the rigorous climate of Sweden, furnishes an additional support to this my unalterable principle. Fine woolled sheep may be

kept wherever industrious men and intelligent breeders exist.

“ Spanish sheep have been long domiciled at the Cape of Good Hope, and it was from thence that the merinos were first obtained, and taken to New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land.

“ *Italy*.—Piedmont possesses many flocks of pure merino and improved breeds. Count Granerie, on his return from the embassy to Spain, obtained from the Court of Madrid permission to take away a flock, which consisted of one hundred and fifty capital Segovian sheep, selected by the Prince of Masseran: part of them were placed on the domain of La Mandria, and the rest were given to individuals.”

Great Britain.—M. Lasteyrie gives an account of the importation of Spanish sheep by George III., taken from the writings of Lord Somerville, and mentions the exertions made by many individuals at that period, which have been already mentioned, and he elicits nothing which has not already appeared as to the introduction of merino sheep into Great Britain.

After thus mentioning the introduction of merino sheep into those different countries, M. Lasteyrie enters minutely into their management; in each it is not necessary to give those different methods in detail, but the success in Saxony having been so great, the mode of treatment must be interesting.

“ The methods pursued in Saxony, with regard to fine woolled sheep, are certainly deserving of attention, whether we look to the Electoral farms, or to those of individuals, because the success of their methods has been demonstrated by an experience of nearly forty years, and the results leave nothing to desire. This success is ascribable to the establishments originally founded by Government at Stolpe Hohenstein, and other places, where schools for shepherds were instituted, and to the instructions disseminated through the Electorate.

“ Endeavours have been used, as far as soil and climate would permit, to treat the merino sheep according to the practice of Spain: we will now, however, revert to one point in which a departure from the Spanish custom is adopted.

“ It is generally believed in Saxony, and other parts of Germany, as well as Holland, that the intermixture of fathers and mothers with their progeny, or even that of animals derived from the same father and mother, will occasion degeneration in fine woolled sheep. Under this conviction, the Saxon breeders often buy from other flocks, rams which they substitute for those employed by themselves, and land proprietors bind their tenants, by a clause in their leases, to renew every year a certain number of rams. The undistinguished mixture of the same flock, which has taken place in Sweden, France, and every part of Germany, proves, in a decisive manner, that it is useless to procure other rams, while any one possesses those which are endowed with good qualities. If the opinion in question were correct, there would not be a single perfect sheep at this moment in Spain, for in that country the animals have copulated among each other for ages, without distinction of parentage.

“ The usual food given to the sheep during winter consists of hay, aftermath, trefoil, and oats, or rye straw, &c. : the hay is distributed twice or thrice in the course of the day, and in greater or smaller quantities, as it is more or less substantial : those who have no hay substitute for it pea's-haum, vetches, or lentils ; care is taken to cut the latter kinds of fodder before their maturity, that they may be more nutritious, and that the fall of leaf may be prevented, which would otherwise take place for want of moisture. Some farmers, too, make amends for want of hay by the use of cakes from oleaginous grain, by bran and crushed corn, or sometimes meal ; they mix the cakes and meal in vessels filled with water, which are placed in the sheep houses, and the residuum at the bottom of those vessels is afterwards given them to eat. This method contributes to preserve the animals in good health at a season when it is difficult to procure fresh food ; grain given in this manner is more nutritious, particularly if the meal be mixed in hot water. This food is best adapted to the lambs, but when given to sheep, about six or seven pounds of meal are allotted to a hundred. When there is a want of provender, or the snow is of long continuance, corn is given to the sheep in the straw, or indeed sometimes threshed and alone ; but as the latter food is always expensive.

it is generally soon replaced by roots of different kinds, viz, beets, turnips, carrots, and more especially potatoes. This method, hardly adopted at all in France, cannot be too strongly recommended to owners of flocks. It is well known that the dry food on which sheep are obliged to live during a bad season, often occasions disorders, for which reason the English farmer cultivates turnips largely, as his winter resource. Thus he is enabled to keep a larger stock than he otherwise could, a provision of roots being added to his ordinary fodder. In Saxony, great care is taken to collect the horse chesnuts, which are regarded as a wholesome aliment, and a specific against the rot; they are given to the sheep in autumn, when green food ceases. The chesnuts are cut into pieces, which it would be dangerous to omit, as they might otherwise stick in the throat of the animal, and cause its death. Sheep as well as cattle refuse at first to eat this food, but when accustomed to it, they seek it with avidity, and even like to eat the prickly husk in which the nut is enveloped. The wethers, and the ewes which have not had lambs, have generally no food but hay, or other inferior support, the best aliment being reserved for the ewe mothers, the rams and the lambs. The racks are constructed by which the fodder is not wasted, and the fleeces are preserved from injury. During winter the flocks are taken abroad, when the season will permit; if the snow be not too deep, they are driven to the woods, or to dry lands and moors. Those breeders who have no winter pasturage, keep their flocks in the sheep-houses from the beginning of November till April, but care is taken that they move about in the courts every day, and remain in the open air three or four hours: the doors of the houses, too, are frequently opened, that the air may be incessantly changed. There are even owners of flocks in Saxony, who have no pastures at all, and keep their sheep in the houses and yards throughout the year: nor is this treatment injurious either to their health, or the fineness of their wool, as long as care is taken to supply them with proper food, and to keep their houses dry and airy. The general custom, however, is to put them, during favourable weather, into pastures, where they find a sufficient quantity of food: and when those are not to be had, they are driven t

the hills, and other dry places. They leave the houses in the morning, as soon as the dew entirely disappears, and repose in the shade during the heat of the day. When rain falls heavily, or the fogs are thick, they are kept in their houses, nor are they suffered to go into the fields after an abundant shower of hail. In this respect, the Saxons imitate the shepherds of Spain.

“ It is customary, in some farms in Saxony, to let the sheep drink in their stables during winter, instead of taking them to the watering places. The Saxon breeders not only consider salt salutary to sheep, but are of opinion that it imparts a greater degree of fineness to the fleece.

“ Such are, in general, the different methods of managing sheep in Saxony ; they are varied and modified according to the nature of the soil and its products : the good farmers observe the principle without which no flock can prosper, that is, to keep a number of animals only in proportion to the quantity of support grown on their land. Experience has proved that the quality of wool produced by a flock is always proportionate to the quality and extent of the nutriment which it has received.

“ The shearing takes place at the beginning of May, after the fleece has been washed on the backs of the animals : formerly the wool was washed in warm water, after being cut from the sheep, according to the Spanish plan ; but this custom has been abandoned, in consequence of the wool felting into balls, by which its value was much reduced. The mode of washing generally pursued, consists in driving the sheep through a brook or rivulet : the next morning they are again brought thither, and plunged into the stream, that every part of the fleece may be equally penetrated ; after which the wool is pressed by the hand, beginning at the head, and proceeding regularly to the extremities. In the afternoon they are driven once more through the water, then two days are allowed for the fleece to become dry, and on the next they are shorn. A shepherd despatches twenty-five sheep per day. The wool is not sorted, as in Spain, but accommodated, the finest being separated from the coarsest, and from that which is soiled.”

“TRAVELS IN ICELAND, by SIR GEORGE STEWART
“MACKENZIE, BART.”

“The sheep of Iceland appear to be the same as the Old Scotch Highland sort, which is now nearly extinct. They are larger, however, and the wool is long and soft, but not fine. Many of them are entirely black, and a great portion are black and white. The wool is never shorn, but pulled off; much of it is lost before it is taken off, and what remains after hanging for a term on the animal's back, becomes spoiled and felted by the rain. The sheep are very much infested by vermin, known in England by the name of ticks and beds. The lambs are early restrained from sucking, and the ewes are milked, and butter is made from the produce.

“It is part of the employment of the women during winter to pick and clean the wool, and to spin it. A considerable quantity is exported, and it is so valuable an article in Denmark, that it sells in Iceland for a much higher price than coarse wool in the north of Scotland.

“About the year 1756 an attempt was made to improve the wool in Iceland by the introduction of Spanish rams, but owing to negligence it was unsuccessful. With that zeal for bettering the condition of his country which distinguishes him, Mr. Stephenson, of Indreholm, brought a few merino rams and ewes from Norway, in 1808. This wool is tolerably fine, but by no means so good as that of the merinos in England. I saw the lambs of the first cross between them and the Iceland ewes, and they promised very well. If Mr. Stephenson perseveres in his laudable exertions, and if the people can be made sensible of the advantages to be derived from improving the wool, he will have the satisfaction of having begun a most beneficial improvement.

“The gathering of the sheep from the mountains before the commencement of winter is a very important part of the business of an Iceland farmer. As soon as the hay-harvest is over, and when the Kreppstion, or parish-officer, thinks that the farmers are ready, he informs the Sysselman of the district, who causes a notice to be given in the churches, that on a certain day the gathering of the sheep shall commence.

and at the same time appoints a place of rendezvous. Every farmer who has a considerable part of his flock feeding on the mountains must send one man, or if the number of his sheep be very small, he may join with another whose case is similar, and together they send one. When the men destined for this service assemble, they choose one who has had much experience, whom they agree to obey, and they give him the title of 'King,' and the power of selecting two associates as councillors. On the appointed day they meet at the place fixed upon, perhaps to the number of two hundred, on horseback. Having pitched their tents and committed their horses to the care of children, who have accompanied them, the 'King' on horseback gives his orders, and sends the men off two and two, strictly enjoining them not to lose sight of their comrades. Having collected as many sheep as they can find, they drive them towards the tents, and then shift their quarters. Thus they go on during a week, when they take all the sheep to one of the large pens constructed for the purpose, which consists of one large enclosure, surrounded by a number of smaller ones, for the purpose of separating the sheep belonging to different persons. This business is quite a rural festival, but the merriment is often mingled with the lamentations of those who have lost some of their sheep, or the quarrels of others, who have accidentally fixed upon some mark of the property of others. The search for sheep is repeated about the middle, and again about the end of October. At this time those only who have failed in recovering their sheep on the former occasion are engaged. Every animal which is unproductive, or which cannot be used, must, by a law which is strictly enforced, be sent to the mountains about the end of May, in order that as much fine grass as possible may be saved for the milch cows and ewes, and for making hay."

SHEEP IN ICELAND.

1703	.....	279,812	|	1784	.....	42,243*
1760	...	491,934	|	1804	.....	218,818
1770	.....	112,809	|			

* In 1783 the great eruption of Skaptad Jokell destroyed a great number of sheep and cat le.—*Mr. Stephenson's Tables.*

"AN ACCOUNT OF PERUVIAN SHEEP, by WILLIAM WILSON.
"TON. 1811."

"There are four species of Peruvian sheep.

"The *Llama* is considerably the largest and strongest, is used as a beast of burden, and carries the weight of four arrobas, equal to 100lbs. The whole body is covered with a soft woolly coat of hair; their fleeces manufacture excellent blankets, frizes, and coarse woollens, which are warm and durable, and admit a good dye.

"The *Alpaca* is something less than the *Llama*, but is also used as a beast of burden. Nine-tenths of the wool of it is black, the residue partly white, red, and grizzled. It is of a very long staple, often reaching to twelve inches, and partakes greatly of soft glossy hair. It is not of that felting nature common to other wools, from the great elasticity of its fibres, and requires a very nice preparation to enable it to receive colours. It is extremely soft and silky to the touch, and when dyed, it loses nothing of its singular gloss.

"The *Huanaco*, or *Guanaco*, is the largest of the two species of Peruvian wild sheep, yet generally rather smaller than the *Alpaca*.

"This animal is found only in its wild state, and has not been domesticated, but in solitary instances; it is decidedly the swiftest animal the Peruvians have.

"The *Huanaco* lives in a gregarious manner, and is seen feeding in herds of one to two hundred, on the declivities of the snowy and solitary mountains of Upper Peru: they are shy, vigilant, and have a centinel on an elevation, to announce the approach of footsteps. Molina says, that when the snow commences, they descend from the Cordilleras in search of food, into the plains of Chili.

"The wool of the *Huanaco* is shorn off the skin as the hunter brings it in; it is nearly of the same nature and colour as that of the *Vigonia*, with this difference, that it is coarser, shorter in staple, and of a lighter colour—not so red. It is also much filled with hair, which renders it less valuable.

"The *Vicuna*, or *Vigonia*, is by far the most delicate, and from the fineness and consequent value of its wool, the most interesting of the four species of Peruvian sheep. The uni-

form colour of the Vigonia fleece is of a russet red, or red brown, for the few exceptions that have been seen white constitute trivial variations. The wool of this animal is the softest, finest, most silky, and, when picked, the most valuable in the world. The only objection that can be brought against Vigonia wool is its colour, which prevents it from being introduced into light fabrics and fancy cloths, shawls, &c. ; it possesses, in an eminent degree, the virtue of felting.

“ The manufacture of this kind of wool into cloth and stuffs was known to the ancient Peruvians, and they still continue it, with many European improvements.

“ *The common Sheep's Wool* of South America is the production of the Spanish sheep that have been taken over to that country, where they have multiplied to that great degree that they can be bought in the interior at the low price of one dollar. The fleece of this animal serves to protect the Indian from the blasts of his wintry atmosphere, and its flesh affords him sustenance. This valuable race of quadrupeds has spread in Upper Peru, as the horned cattle have done in the pampas of Buenos Ayres, and each has chosen its most congenial range and most suitable pasture. The sheep, as they at present exist in South America, have not altogether preserved the fine coat of the parent stock : the black breeds are the most encouraged, and in some parts no other are thought of any value.”

SHEEP'S WOOL IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM SOUTH AMERICA.

		cwts. qrs. lbs.					cwts. qrs. lbs.		
1807	... ..	546	0	24	|	1809	..... ..	641	1 11
1808	..... ..	352	1	21	|	1810	... ..	653	0 23

CHAPTER X.

FROM 1810 TO 1819.

Improvement in Machinery—Gig Mills—Riots—Luddism—Disappointment in Merino Sheep—Tax proposed on Foreign Wool—Petition in support of Wool Growers—Select Committee in the House of Commons on the Wool and Woollen Trade—Excitement in the Clothing Districts—Public Meetings—Resolutions passed—Deputies meet in London, John Maitland, Esq. Chairman—Evidence before Select Committee—Lord Lascelles, Chairman—Report of Committee—Lord Milton's Opinion on the Exportation of British Wool—Lord Milton's Letter to James Bischoff—Answer thereto—Lord Sheffield's Report at the Lewes Wool Fair, 1816—Letters to the Earl of Sheffield, by J. B. S.—Meeting of Agriculturists—Resolutions.

NOTWITHSTANDING the extensive improvement introduced in manufactures, it was extremely difficult to bring them into operation, from the fears and excitement which prevailed amongst the labouring classes; for a system was pursued in Nottinghamshire, in the years 1810 and 1811, to destroy frames used in the manufacture of lace; and the spirit which there had its rise, extended to the larger manufacturing districts, and the destruction of all machinery, which, as they thought, interfered with hand labour, was contemplated.

Riots commenced in the West Riding of Yorkshire in the year 1812, the chief object being the destruction of gig mills used for raising the wool on blankets, coatings, baize, and on cloth in the process of finishing. The men were regularly organised and trained. After demolishing the works of Mr. Foster, of Horbury, in Yorkshire, their leader ordered them into a field, and their numbers (each man having a number to conceal his name) being called over, he dismissed them by the word of command,—“the work is done, disperse.” The time occupied in the business of mustering, destruction, and dispersing did not exceed twenty minutes. They had the appellation of Luddites. Detachments were sent round the country, who searched the houses for arms, and their depreda-

tions were not checked, till a most respectable manufacturer at Huddersfield, Mr. Horsfall, was shot near his own house. A reward of £2,000 was offered for the detection of the murderers, one of whom turned king's evidence, and three were tried and convicted by a special commission, in January, 1813, and were executed at York; and fourteen, who were severally convicted of participating in an attack on Mr. Cartwright's mill, and other mills, were all executed on one day; and however revolting the destruction of so many lives is to the feelings, it was considered absolutely necessary in order to stop the ravages which were daily committed. It put an end to those disorders, and at the assizes which took place at York, in the April following, Mr. Parke, king's counsel, publicly declared, that however sanguinary it had appeared, in the execution of so many deluded wretches, leaving twelve widows and fifty-seven orphan children, Luddism was then extinct, and government declined to prosecute the other prisoners, having been only determined to restore tranquillity and good order.

Though the exertions made by public men, and by the leading agriculturists of the kingdom, to introduce the Spanish merino sheep had been so great, they found it impossible to produce that quality of wool which was required by the manufacturers of superfine cloth; and when they brought their wool to market, meeting the competition of Spanish wool, and of Saxony wool, the fineness of which now became known, they were greatly disappointed at the prices they were able to obtain, attributing them to what they considered the prejudices of the manufacturers, and they pressed upon Government their grand specific for all distresses, *taxation on foreign wool*, as their only protection against the evils of which they complained. The agriculturists of England were, however, divided into two parties,—those whose possessions were on the light soils, the downs and the heaths, with fine herbage, and those whose property consisted of rich, loamy, clay, and fen lands. The former were disappointed in the improvement they anticipated in their fleeces from the introduction of the merino sheep; and at their head were Lord Somerville, the Earl of Sheffield, Sir John Sinclair, Mr. Western, Mr. Burrell, Mr. Holme Sumner, &c. &c.; while those who encouraged the

new Leicester breed, and their cross with South Down sheep, were the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, and the leading agriculturists in the midland and northern counties, who, by their improved mode of farming, the extent of new inclosures, and turnip husbandry, increased the weight both of the carcase and the fleece, and with that their own profits. Inclosures were also extended to the high down lands. Encouraged by the high prices of corn, the plough was carried into districts which for ages had been sheep pastures, and by thus giving their sheep more succulent food, they increased the weight of the fleece, but deteriorated its quality; and finding they could not get the price per lb. which they formerly received, the agriculturists endeavoured by legislative enactments to check or prohibit the importation of foreign wool, and force on the manufacturers their deteriorated article at a higher price. They therefore petitioned Parliament for the imposition of a tax on the importation of foreign wool, and succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a select committee of the House of Commons, "to examine into the policy of imposing an increased duty on the importation of foreign wools, and to report their opinion thereon to the House; and they were also instructed to take into their consideration the laws relative to woollen goods, and the trade of wool, and also to consider the laws prohibiting the growth of tobacco in Great Britain, and were empowered to report from time to time to the House, together with the minutes of evidence taken before them."

This annunciation caused considerable excitement and alarm in the manufacturing districts. A public meeting of the wool-staplers of Leeds, Wakefield, and Huddersfield, was held at Leeds, April 15th, 1816, for the purpose of considering the propriety of opposing the intended bill to permit the exportation of sheep and wool, duty free, and to impose a duty on wool imported; Mr. Wm. Westerman in the chair, when it was resolved—

"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that a duty upon foreign wool imported would be a serious injury to the woollen manufacture of this country, and tend ultimately to the utter ruin of its foreign export trade.

"That the exportation of sheep and wool will prove most injurious to the manufacturing interests of this country, as at the

present time the wools grown in it are almost entirely drawn out of the hands of the growers, and have lately been bought from them at prices never before given.

“That every exertion should be used to prevent the above bill passing into a law, and that for that purpose the woolstaplers do unite with the merchants and manufacturers in their petition against the intended bill.

“That a delegate be sent from this meeting to give evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, and to unite with the delegates from the manufacturing interests in opposing the intended bill.

“That a Committee be appointed to carry the intentions of this meeting into effect.”

Similar meetings were held in the different manufacturing districts. The following resolutions, which were passed at a meeting of the merchants, manufacturers, and woolstaplers of the town and neighbourhood of Rochdale, enter more into detail, and show the opinion prevalent among them:—

“That this meeting is of opinion the present high price of wool has necessarily occasioned such an advance in manufactured goods, as already to have greatly injured the trade to the continent of Europe, which appears corroborated by numerous letters from foreign importers to their correspondents here, in which they state the prices to be such as to compel them to substitute their own manufactures, though inferior to ours.

“That, should foreigners be able to procure English wool to mix with that of their own growth, (they having already got machinery to great perfection, and the price of labour being considerably lower than it is with us,) it would fully answer their purpose, and the exportation of woollen goods from this country to the continent of Europe would immediately cease; that to the United States of America, whose manufactures are rather increasing, would in a short time cease also.

“That it appears to this meeting, every farmer and fell-monger can, if he be disposed, find a ready and advantageous market for his wool at home, and consequently, that there is sufficient competition, without opening it to foreign demands, which in fact would not be any relief to them, either in increasing the price or consumption. That ever since the exportation of wool has been prohibited, the whole produce of the United Kingdom has been manufactured at home.

"That the consumption of wool in this town and neighbourhood is estimated at 1,000 packs (weighing 240lbs. each) per week, every pack of which affords employment and subsistence to at least thirty persons. The injury, therefore, which might be done within our own district, by suffering the exportation of the raw material, may easily be calculated with respect to the population employed in manufacturing it. And a certain proportion of machinery would in consequence be rendered useless.

"That the master manufacturers have expended a large proportion of their capital in mills, machinery, and necessary buildings, which would be thrown out of employ, should such a measure as proposed be adopted, to the very great injury of all, and total ruin of many of them.

"That the value of land in this neighbourhood, which in its own nature is poor and unproductive, is entirely supported and upheld by its manufactories, and would be rendered little worth without them.

"That, for the above reasons, this meeting is of opinion every possible exertion should be used to counteract so destructive a measure as that of allowing the exportation of British wool; or in any manner relaxing the prohibitions which the legislature has hitherto so vigilantly and wisely interposed, to protect so important a branch of the manufactures of the country.

"That, to this end it will be highly proper to depute a certain number of merchants, manufacturers, and woolstaplers to attend in London during the discussion of the business in Parliament.

"That a committee for conducting the business in the country be elected," &c. &c.

A committee, consisting of merchants, manufacturers, wool importers, woolstaplers, and others interested in the wool and woollen trades in London, was appointed; they were joined by the delegates from the manufacturing districts, and John Maitland, Esq., M.P., was chosen chairman.

The following evidence was given before the committee of the House of Commons, according to the printed minutes:—

Mr. MATTHEW THOMPSON, worsted spinner and manufacturer at Bradford, Yorkshire, was acquainted with the prices of Lincolnshire wool since the year 1789, and gave the following tables, after stating that some wool similar to Lincolnshire wool was occasionally imported.

In 1789 the price was 18s. 6d. per tod of 28lbs.		In 1801 the price was 32s. 0d. per tod of 28lbs.	
1790	18s. 6d. do.	1802	33s. 0d. do.
1791	21s. 0d. do.	1803	33s. 0d. do.
1792	25s. 0d. do.	1804	33s. 0d. do.
1793	18s. 0d. do.	1805	34s. 0d. do.
1794	18s. 6d. do.	1806 ...	27s. 0d. do.
1795	21s. 0d. do.	1808	23s. 0d. do.
1796	23s. 6d. do.	1809	28s. 0d. do.
1797	19s. 6d. do.	1810	32s. 0d. do.
1798	18s. 0d. do.	1811	26s. 0d. do.
1799	20s. 0d. do.	1812	30s. 0d. do.
1800	24s. 0d. do.	1813	35s. 0d. do.

In 1814, the wool of the farmer was not sold. He believes it is on hand now. He had 60s. per tod offered for it, though the price paid by the witness for similar wool during the months of July, August, and September, was 40s. to 58s. per tod; and in

1815, 54s. per tod;

1816, 45s. to 48s. per tod.

He attributed the high price in 1814 and 1815 to an increased demand, and a small proportion of those wools in that season being of good quality; thinks the exportation of worsted yarn would be highly prejudicial to the manufacturers at home. Knows that in Holland they would be very desirous of it. Yarn is sent from England to Ireland. Purchased wool at Amsterdam, which, when mixed with English wool, he manufactured, but it did not answer so well as the English. Gave for that wool, unwashed, 1s. 6d. per lb.; washed, 2s. 1d. per lb.

WILLIAM BARFF, woolstapler at Wakefield, gave a statement of the average price of wool for the last thirty-six years, taken from his own books, at midsummer in each year.

Year.	Long Wool.	Short Wool.	Coarse.	Year.	Long Wool.	Short Wool.	Coarse.
1780	d.	d.	d.	1786	d.	d.	Did not buy.
1781	4	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	Did not buy	1787	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	buy.
1782	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	ditto	1788	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	ditto
1783	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	1789	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	ditto
1784	4	6	ditto	1790	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	ditto
1785	4	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	1791	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	ditto
	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	ditto				

(Continued.)

Year.	Long Wool.	Short Wool.	Coarse.	Year.	Long Wool.	Short Wool.	Coarse.
	d.	d.	d.		d.	d.	d.
1792	7½	9½	Did not buy	1804	12½	14	7
1793	7½	9½	ditto	1805	14½	47	7
1794	8	10	ditto	1806	13	18	7
1795	8½	10½	ditto	1807	12	18½	7
1796	9½	12½	5½	1808	10	15½	4½
1797	7½	10½	3½	1809	12½	20	6
1798	■	11	4½	1810	13	22½	7
1799	9	12½	6	1811	11	16	5½
1800	9½	13	6	1812	12	16½	6
1801	12	15	7	1813	14½	16	8
1802	13	15	8	1814	16½	18	9
1803	11½	13½	7	1815	21½	19	10½

By long wool, he means Northumberland and Yorkshire. By short wool he means Northumberland and Scotland. Gave 3s. per lb. for the finest English wool, sorted. Supposes the price of English wool to fluctuate, from the quantity of foreign wool imported.

PIM NEVINS, a manufacturer and merchant, of Leeds, confirmed the opinions given by the two former witnesses, with respect to the price of clothing wool.

JAMES RILEY, woolstapler, Bermondsey, delivered the following table, taken from his own books:—

Year.	Best Sussex Down Wool.		Down Wools other Counties.		Kent Wool.	
	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.
1801	21 to 22 per lb.		17 to 18 per lb.		12 to 13 per lb.	
1802	20 to 22 "		17 to 18 "		14 to 15 "	
1803	19 to 21 "		17 to 18 "		13 to 14 "	
1804	22 to 24 "		19 to 20 "		15 "	
1805	28 to 30 "		24 to 26 "		16 "	
1806	22 to 24 "		20 to 21 "		14 to 15 "	
1807	22 to 24 "		19 to 20 "		13 "	
1808	23 to 24 "		19 to 20 "		12 "	
1809	32 to 36 "		28 to 30 "		14 "	
1810	28 to 30 "		22 to 24 "		14 "	
1811	20 to 21 "		17 to 18 "		12 "	
1812	23 to 24 "		20 to 22 "		13 "	
1813	23 to 24 "		20 to 22 "		14 to 18 "	
1814	26 to 28 "		22 to 23 "		16 to 24 "	
1815	21 to 24 "		18 to 20 "		11 to 21 "	







11

12

13

14

The price of Kent wool, at the close of the American war, was as low as fivepence per pound, and Sussex wool tenpence per pound.

Question put—"Do you believe that the wool from merino flocks, in a district that grew chiefly long wool, would fetch so high a price as the wool from a merino flock grown in the county of Hereford?"

Answer—"No; the wool grown in the county of Hereford would be much more valuable than the other, and much superior. When long wool is grown, the feed operates upon the growth of it. If you put merino sheep into land similar to Lincolnshire, it would not be as good as in other places. I have known from experience that all kind of fine wool is grown best where there is short feed."

WILLIAM WESTERMAN, woolstapler, Leeds, delivered the following table of Norfolk and Suffolk fleece wool, price per pack of 240lbs.

£.	s.		£.	s.		£.	s.	
1770	9	0 per pack.	1786	13	0 per pk.	1801	20	10 per pk.
1771	9	10 "	1787	13	15 "	1802	22	10 "
1772	9	0 "	1788	13	0 "	1803	21	10 "
1773	8	10 "	1789	14	5 "	1804	24	0 "
1774	9	0 "	1790	14	5 "	1805	24	0 "
1775	9	0 "	1791	16	0 "	1806	24	10 "
1776	9	10 "	1792	18	10 "	1807	24	10 "
1777	9	10 "	1793	13	0 "	1808	25	0 "
1778	8	10 "	1794	16	0 "	1809	34	0 "
1779	6	10 "	1795	19	10 "	1810	33	0 "
1780	6	15 "	1796	19	10 "	1811	22	0 "
1781	9	0 "	1797	15	0 "	1812	21	0 "
1782	10	10 "	1798	18	0 "	1813	24	0 "
1783	9	0 "	1799	23	0 "	1814	26	0 "
1784	12	0 "	1800	20	0 "	1815	25	0 "
1785	9	0 "						

When Spanish wool is at a high price, fine English wool will, in some measure, be increased in price. Wool is imported of a quality similar to Norfolk and Suffolk wool, which affects the price greatly: it has been more imported within the last two or three years than formerly, and German wools in particular; but the supply at home of wool of that description, is not sufficiently great to ensure its being sold at a low price

OF MR. H. FAWCETT AND MR. P. NEVINS.

ation. Believes, from his own experience, that British wools are more governed by brisk demand, domestic and foreign trade, than by the importation of wools.

FAWCETT, woolstapler, Bradford, Yorkshire, wool similar to the long wools of Lincolnshire. In 1814 was 19d. to 20d., 1815 18d. to 21d., and per pound. Attributes the fall in the price of wool for some years to a check of demand.

NEVINS, of Leeds, again examined. Manufactures altogether from foreign wool—from Spanish of all sorts. There has of late been a considerable increase of wool from Germany. Also manufactured also from French wool at 4s. to 9s. 3d. per cwt, which is a higher price than for Spanish wool. They are finer than any wools ever manufactured in England. Cannot think but the extensive importation of wools from the Continent does affect the price of English wool; if there is a check to be put to the importation of foreign wool, I look upon it that we in England would pretty nearly lose the whole of our foreign trade. The very countries that send us those fine wools, viz. Germany and France, are our competitors, or I may say rivals; and if any check was put in the way of those wools coming to us, I believe I could convince you by written documents from abroad, that we should be thrown out of the foreign markets completely.

There is a description of low foreign wool imported that is only fit for the list, too coarse to make into cloth; but we find an advantage in it: a small duty would put a stop to the importation of coarse wools, and affect the fine so far with respect to our foreign trade, as to lay us under much disadvantage, and give our competitors much advantage. If the foreign wools are not allowed to be brought here, but that the foreigner is encouraged to manufacture it himself, our poor working people, employed now in the manufacture of foreign wools, will neither be able to buy meat, nor bread to eat with it.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons made the following Report:—

“ Have examined the matter to them referred, and agreed to the following resolution :—

“ Resolved, 29 April, 1816,—

“ That it is the opinion of this Committee, founded upon the examination of evidence relative to the prices of British wool, that no part of the present agricultural distress arises from the inadequacy of those prices, and therefore that it is not expedient to make any alterations in the laws relating to woollen goods and the trade in wool.”

The county of York was at this time represented in Parliament by Lord Lascelles and Lord Milton. Lord Lascelles, who had before then represented the county, devoted great attention to the interests of his constituents, made himself fully acquainted with the woollen manufactures, and the laws relating thereto, and was a powerful advocate for those legislative enactments which governed the wool and woollen trade, and particularly the prohibition of the exportation of English wool, and the free admission of foreign wool ; he was one of the Committee from which the above-mentioned report emanated, which it was understood was drawn up by his Lordship.

Lord Milton, equally attentive to what he considered to be the interest of his constituents, and equally in favour of the free importation of foreign wool, differed in opinion, upon general principles, as to the prohibition of the export of English wool ; and notwithstanding he had been returned to Parliament by the exertions and suffrages of the manufacturers, who conceived the interest, if not indeed the existence, of the worsted trade, depended upon the continuance of those laws, Lord Milton had the manliness to avow his opinion thereon.

The compiler of these Memoirs wrote to Lord Milton, expressing anxiety for his support upon both the points under discussion at that time, considering they were necessary to the woollen trade of Great Britain, but upon which subject, from further experience and consideration, he has since been convinced of his error.

Lord Milton, in a letter to the compiler, stated at length the grounds of his opinion, and the compiler trusts his Lord-

ship will excuse the insertion of that letter, evincing the sound judgment and straightforward ~~manifest~~, which, regardless of consequences to himself, have always governed his Lordship's public conduct.

Sir,

" Grosvenor Place, 20th April, 1816.

" Before I reply to the substance of the letter I received from you yesterday evening, you must permit me to express how grateful I feel for the spirit in which it is conceived, and for the solicitude you appear to entertain about the conduct which I should have pursued, if the proposed measures regarding the woollen trade of this country had been brought to a stage at which it is now more than improbable that they will ever arrive. Those measures are manifestly divisible into two classes: first, the permission to export British wool; secondly, the imposition of duties on the import of foreign wool, rapeseed, tallow, &c. &c. and upon this latter class of measures, I must confess myself surprised that I should ever have been misunderstood, as I am persuaded there is no one of the delegates more hostile to them than myself; and, indeed, if any misunderstanding of my opinion had prevailed, it can only have arisen from the extreme caution with which I usually answer the applications made to me on subjects of a complicated nature, involving general as well as partial interests. To all these import duties I was, from the beginning, adverse, upon principle; first, because I believed them calculated to injure our manufactures; secondly, because they appeared to me founded upon the unjust principle of affording relief to one description of persons at the expense of another; and finally, because they militated against those maxims of free trade which commercial nations are, above all others, interested in advocating, even in cases where a departure from them appears to promise some immediate advantage.

" I come now to the consideration of the export question, and here I must acknowledge that the very same principles which I have just been avowing, lead me to doubt the policy of the present system, which prohibits, under all possible circumstances, the exportation of wool. Let me here ask, what most conduces to an ample and regular supply of any commodity? You and every man of experience will answer, a certain demand. If this axiom, then, is universally admitted, can it be wise to contravene it in any particular instance? If a certain and extended market excites the industry, and multiplies the productions of the manufacturer, will not the same causes lead to an extended production of the raw material? Both parties are actuated by the same motives.

and neither will stir, but under the same encouragement: the farmer will not raise a fleece, nor will the manufacturer weave a web, if any unaccommodating system stares him in the face, and renders the return of his labours fluctuating and precarious. But it will be said, that under the prohibitory code, the woollen manufacture of England has risen to its present unexampled prosperity. Undoubtedly; and the prohibitions may have been necessary for its original establishment, in opposition to those of other countries; but if their necessity has long ceased, as I am persuaded it has, why then they have, in all probability, tended rather to check than to increase its growth. Upon these grounds, therefore, rests, in my opinion, the question of the expediency of continuing the prohibitory system in all its rigour.

“When the manufacturer refuses to buy, what is the grower to do with his wool? Must he keep it till it rots in his chamber? and thus lose a considerable portion of the returns for his industry. Is such a system calculated to make him persevere in the same line of agriculture? Must it not rather induce him, in some instances, to sacrifice his flocks to a more extensive cultivation of corn, and in others, where the pastures are equally adapted to both kinds of grazing, must it not turn the scale in favour of large cattle, and by thus again contracting the supply, enhance the price of wool to the manufacturer? In these suppositions, I am persuaded that I place before you no hypothetical case; but, on the contrary, that I am stating accurately the tendency, and, indeed, the actual operation, of that code of laws, upon the preservation of which, in its present extent, it is contended that the prosperity of the woollen manufacture in this country depends. In my humble opinion, it is to be attributed to very different causes. It depends, I conceive, together with all the other branches of our commerce, upon the security of our persons, the free enjoyment of our property, and the impartial administration of justice—causes which, much more than our commercial regulations, have given this country so decided a superiority over less free governments, in the pursuits of industry. But why, it is said, alter the system at the present moment, when the grower of long wool is obtaining an unexampled price for his commodity, and when the farmer consequently requires no relief in that particular branch of his trade? I answer, any alteration to have been made now, was not meant to meet a present exigency, but to operate as a permanent amelioration of the system. It was not intended, (at least in my view of it) to afford relief to the wool grower at the expense of the manufacturer, but to provide a more certain, and thereby, upon the whole, a more ample supply for the use of the

latter, by leaving to the former the chance of a foreign market, whenever the home manufacturer would not purchase on equal terms. On the contrary, I thought that such securities ought to have been provided as would have given to the home manufacturer every advantage in the wool market that he could reasonably desire. My only objection was (and in that I am convinced that I consulted equally the prosperity of the manufacturers and that of the grower,) that when there was no demand at home for the raw material, it should not be suffered to lie an useless commodity on their hands, and thereby discourage the exertions of the farmers in that line.

"My opinions, therefore, (as far as they favour the export,) are formed, not upon partial consideration, or with temporary views, but upon as full a consideration as I am able to give to the question, the effects of which are to be sought through a long train of not very obvious reflections. The decision, however, which, in the interval between the commencement and termination of this letter, has been actually taken by the committee, relieves me from the necessity of pursuing the question any further, or of entering into any details upon the regulations with which in my judgment the measure ought to have been accompanied, in order to prevent its being attended with those dangers to which sudden changes both in commercial and political questions are always liable.

"For the inordinate length of this letter I have many apologies to make; but I thought from the tenour of yours, that you would prefer an explanatory to a prompt reply, and I trust that the indulgence I have always experienced from my constituents will lead them to receive with candour the explanations that are given in the same spirit.

"I have the honour to remain, &c. &c.

"MILTON."

It may, perhaps, be well to give here the answer sent in that letter.

"Basinghall Street, 8th May, 1816.

"MY LORD,

"I have to thank your lordship for the candid manner in which you have stated your opinion with respect to the laws which have lately been agitated in Parliament, regarding the regulations of wool and the woollen trade.

"There is only one point in which I differ from your lordship, viz., a free trade as it applies to raw materials used in manufactures.

and particularly to wool, as it is of such vital importance to all concerned in that trade, of which your lordship's constituents form a large proportion, and is so immediately connected with the prosperity of this country, that I trust your lordship will excuse my anxiety in endeavouring to state this matter in the light it appears to me, in the hope of obtaining your lordship's influence and support, whenever the agriculturists shall think proper to bring this question again under consideration.

“ Your lordship admits that the present flourishing state of our woollen manufactures may be attributed to those laws, which in their infancy encouraged and protected them ; but you suppose that in their present state the necessity for those regulations may not exist. I admit that if the same description of wool was produced in other countries that is grown here, and if all other countries would open their ports to free commerce, and pass no laws which would encourage their own, and check the trade of their neighbours, this kingdom, from its enterprise and capital, might be essentially benefited by it, and it might be generally useful ; but that is scarce possible, and certainly not probable ; as, therefore, commerce must be governed by laws, and these will vary in different countries, each state must attend to its own interests, and adopt such regulations as will protect itself, and guard against those of others. I shall now apply this to the wool and woollen trades, and see how they are affected by foreign laws. In France the exportation of coarse wool is strictly prohibited ; fine wool at present is allowed to be exported, under certain regulations, and subject to heavy duties ; but it is expected that the prohibition will be extended to the exportation of all wools the growth of France. In Holland and Flanders very heavy duties are imposed on the export of wool, which almost amount to a prohibition.

“ In Spain the duty varies, according to the rate of exchange, from 7d. to 1s. per lb.

“ All these laws are made to encourage their own manufactures ; and they have succeeded, for the French and Dutch manufacturers are most formidable rivals, and even the woollen manufactures of Spain are very considerable. In many states of the continent, the importation of woollen goods is strictly prohibited, and there only remain a few to which we can send our manufactures, and in those we experience great competition ; if, therefore, the ports of England were to be opened for free trade, I apprehend we should soon see the raw material of her own growth carried to foreign countries, and manufactured there, to the exclusion of our fabrics.

“ But there is a stronger argument against free trade in wool, viz., that the long wool produced in this country has never been

grown, of the same quality, elsewhere, and we should, therefore, export, but could not import, the same material.

"The length of the staple of foreign wool is about two inches; the length of Lincolnshire wool from four to five inches: foreign wool is brittle; it will not bear the process of combing; English wool is more tough, and is not only finer and better in appearance, but in reality. This description of wool, too, is the most profitable to the country. The Spanish merino and South Down wool will not, when manufactured into cloth, sell for more than double the price paid to the importer or grower; long wool will sell for four or five, and in some cases even ten times its original cost; the short fine wool cannot be manufactured into cloth saleable on the continent, in competition with their own manufactures. Our principal markets are, for the home consumption, America, and the East and West Indies. There is no doubt but manufacturing for our own use is highly beneficial, but it brings no new money into the country. The consumer in England pays part to the grower, and part to the manufacturer; but, to use a homely phrase, the money only goes from one pocket into another. Trade to distant countries has also disadvantages; it cannot be carried on without large capital and long credit; but the chief trade in woollens is from wool and labour; and though much is sent to America and the East and West Indies, goods manufactured from long wool are in great demand in the continental markets, where they are sold on shorter credit. Without English wool they cannot be manufactured. If, therefore, the exportation of wool should be permitted, we shall part with the chief advantage we possess. Admitting that the farmer would get double the present price for a foreign market, the country would lose the profit of manufacturing, which I have stated at four, five, and even ten times its original cost.

"I am sure your lordship would not have supported the measures which have been proposed, till you had satisfied your own mind that they would be beneficial to the country: and even if the exportation of wool had been permitted, you would have supported such restrictions as would appear to your lordship most proper to protect the interest of our manufacturers. But what I contend for is, that if the exportation be allowed, no restriction would avail. Allow the exportation under any circumstances whatever, and you destroy that branch of trade. Even suppose the price of long wool to be two shillings per lb., and impose a duty of three shillings per lb. on the export, the foreigner with one lb. of English wool can work up two pounds of his own; and consequently the duty would be only one shilling per lb. on what he uses, and with the advantages he possesses in the low price of his own wool, wages, and

taxes, he would be enabled to undersell the English manufacturer even with that duty.

“ It is possible, and I think very probable, that this description of wool will fall materially in price : it is now double what it was formerly, but this is owing to the large army orders during the late war, and from the fashion which has been so prevalent amongst agriculturists to breed sheep which produce fine wool, materially reducing the number of those which produce long and coarse wool. The stoppage of the army trade, and the conviction now felt that the sheep producing long wool are the most profitable, will probably bring a larger quantity of long wool to the market than the demand will consume, and, consequently the stock may increase, and the price fall ; but in case it should accumulate to a great extent, it would, in my humble opinion, be bad policy, under any circumstances, to allow the exportation. It has been no unusual thing to have four or five years’ growth on the hands of the farmer, the prices having been very low, even five pence per lb., for what now sells for two shillings per lb. ; but this evil has always hitherto found its own remedy, and our manufacturers have sooner or later taken off the stock. But even if this should not be the case for some years, I should think it more for the interest of the country, and its future prosperity, that the raw material should rot in their chambers, or even be burnt, than that it should be allowed to be exported, either in its raw state, or spun into yarn and unmanufactured. The grower would, I admit, suffer a heavy loss by it, but it would only be a temporary loss, and would be made good in a year or two : the relief, too, he would gain, would be only temporary by exportation, and would probably bring with it ruin and distress. It would remove our most profitable manufacture to foreign countries, would compel the manufacturer either to go to his parish for relief, or to follow the raw material : the farmer would even rejoice to see him leave his country, for his land would otherwise have to support him, and when the manufacturer is gone, population would soon decrease, and the carcase of his sheep, which is much more valuable than the wool, would be depreciated. Though, therefore, your lordship’s opinion is very correct, that we are indebted for a great deal of our prosperity to the security of our persons, the free enjoyment of our property, and the impartial administration of justice ; we are, in my opinion, also indebted to our manufactures and trade, and if these leave us, our other blessings and privileges will soon follow. I humbly conceive, therefore, that the present laws are necessary to the prosperity of the woollen manufactures, and if they are relaxed, we shall soon see this branch of trade decline, and the exportation lost. Our ances-

THE EARL OF SHEFFIELD'S REPORT.

perished it with the greatest care, and whenever these laws came under discussion, even since the trade was so much so flourishing, their necessity has been supported by the ablest and wisest statesmen of which our history can boast. When an application was intended to be made to Parliament for permission to export wool under license, the manufacturers of the West Riding of Yorkshire found their strongest and most powerful advocate in the Marquis of Rockingham, — a name dear to his country, and whose memory to you, my Lord, is so dear; they met with another powerful advocate in George Saville, a man equally beloved, and whose post your lordship fills; and on more recent occasions, during the debate on the Union with Ireland, considerable degree of fear was excited, by allowing the exportation of wool to that island, it might be conveyed to France, and Mr. Pitt supported the measure, because he thought those fears groundless; and it was very evident that he would have decidedly opposed its exportation to foreign countries. I could also mention the names of the greatest statesmen of the present day, at variance in political opinion, but who agree upon this most important question; and I trust that, whenever it is brought forward, your lordship will see the necessity of the present laws continuing in their full force, and will meet any attempt at their repeal with your powerful opposition.

“ I have the honour to remain,

“ My Lord,

“ Your lordship's obedient humble servant,

“ JAMES BISCHOFF.”

“ To the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Milton, M.P.”

Notwithstanding the unsuccessful attempt to alter the laws relating to the wool and woollen trade, the agriculturists in those districts where merino sheep had been chiefly introduced and encouraged at the wool fairs and agricultural meetings, exerted every effort in order to establish their object during the next session of Parliament.

THE EARL OF SHEFFIELD took a very active part in those proceedings, and made a Report at the Lewes wool fair, 1816, which, after being inserted in the “*Farmer's Journal*,” and other newspapers, was afterwards printed in a small pamphlet and sold. The following are extracts from that report:—

“ During the many years I have had the honour of attend-

ing this meeting, I never had so little to communicate, either comfortable or satisfactory, on the subject of the trade in wool. That article, by the scientific attention and spirited expense of our most able agriculturists, has been abundantly increased in quantity, and greatly improved in quality ; yet, through a disgraceful policy, and the neglect of just principles, is now so debased in value, that, under present circumstances, it never can answer to the agriculturist to raise that kind of fine wool which has for so many centuries supplied and supported our excellent manufactures. It is not to the transition from war to peace, or to the scarcity of money, that we are principally to look for this debasement in the value of our short fine wool, but to the vast increase of the breed of Spanish sheep in Europe, and the very unwise toleration of the unrestricted importation of foreign wool.

“ The increase in the growth of wool of the Spanish race upon the continent, particularly in France, Germany, and Hungary, is really surprising, and calls imperiously for some Parliamentary interference to protect our wool-growers from being overwhelmed and driven out of our own market,—the necessary consequence of their being left unprotected by a duty on the import of foreign wool.

“ So great is the increase in France in particular, that that country will in future receive comparatively little from Spain ; she already exports very considerably, consequently greater quantities of Spanish wools are, and will be, poured into this country. We need not on this point draw our inferences from speculative truths, nor argue from probable consequences, when we can appeal to the experience of facts. It appears that a very considerable quantity of wool has, of late, been imported from France, and we know, from returns before Parliament, that the importation last year from France, Germany, (including Hungary) and from the Netherlands, from all which, formerly, little or no wool was imported into this country, amounted to nearly double the quantity of the whole of the foreign wools imported from Spain and all parts, on an average of eight years previous to the wars of the French revolution.

“ An importation so immense cannot but have the most ruinous consequences to the growth of fine wool in the United

Kingdom, and we accordingly find that the value of that kind of wool has greatly decreased, even at the very time of the largest demand for our manufactures.

“ This admission of an article, free of duty, from all countries comparatively untaxed and untithed, in competition with the produce of this country, so heavily taxed and tithed, cannot be supported upon any principle of policy or justice; is contrary to every principle, which is so justly and necessarily established in respect to every other produce or manufacture of the country; and is more peculiarly oppressive and unjust in respect to wool, as that article is severely prohibited, by several Acts of Parliament, from seeking another market in case of redundancy. England receives the wool of the whole world, to the prejudice of her own growth, and for the benefit of none, but a few overgrown clothiers and dealers in foreign wool.

“ The importation of foreign wool is so immense, and the prices of all fine short wools so depreciated, that even the foreign wools cannot find a sale, but great quantities remain on hand. Such is the redundancy of foreign wool at this moment in our ports, that the best Spanish wool has been sold, after remaining on hand for years, at a reduction of 30 to 50 per cent. on the import price, and that, too, at very extended credit: and, besides the large quantities of foreign wool now stored in England, there is also at this time in Germany and Spain, an immense quantity ready to be consigned to this country, as soon as there is a prospect of improved prices. But the glut of short fine wool is so great, that nothing like an adequate price is at present to be obtained, hardly any offer is refused, and considerable quantities of foreign wool have been bought up at Bristol and in London, by the Netherland merchants. There are many piles of Spanish wool, which have been lying here seven years, and some of the largest importers will not receive any more on consignment, until they have effected sales, having already made large advances, which they cannot yet reimburse.

“ Under these circumstances, then, I conceive that even those who doubt or disbelieve the possibility of our raising a sufficiency of fine wool for our manufacturers, cannot reasonably object to the proposition of such a moderate duty on the

import of foreign wool, as would not check the importation of the finest sorts, the kind formerly imported, but only enable us to meet in competition at our own markets, such foreign wools as are by no means necessary to our manufactures.

“If a duty of 1s. per lb. had been imposed on the quantity imported in the last two years, it would have added £1,535,203 to our revenue, at the period when it was wanted. This duty, as before observed, would not prevent the importation of the finest Spanish wools, which alone can be supposed to be wanted in this country. It would even be little felt by the manufacturers; and as a very small proportion of our manufactures of the finest Spanish or foreign wool goes to foreign countries, there can be no objection to the duty, on the ground of its hurting our foreign trade. Not a yard less of cloth would be exported from this country; and nothing exhibits the want of knowledge of the state of our manufacturing world more than the notion that Spain and other foreign countries would manufacture their wool, if we did not receive it from them. It is ridiculous to suppose that they will not improve and promote their woollen manufactures whenever they find themselves in a situation so to do.

“Much more might be adduced, if required, to urge the necessity of repeated application to the legislature, until the mischiefs arising from the present bad systems are better understood; nor must we be discouraged by the report of a committee of the House of Commons, appointed last session, to examine into the policy of imposing duties on the import of such foreign articles as interfered with the agriculture of this country.

“Fortunately for us, the evidence is published on which this opinion was grounded. It is the evidence merely of commercial men, woolstaplers, and manufacturers—men deeply interested in the system of debasing the price of British wool, and so partial, that it is astonishing how it could be supposed for a moment to support the opinion that it is not expedient ‘to make any alteration in the laws relating to the trade in wool.’ According to every principle of justice and every idea of common sense, it is necessary that some evidence should be taken on the other side of the question; but it does not appear that there was any attempt to examine any

persons on the side of the wool growers. The wool growers themselves, however, are most to blame, for not coming forward with petitions from different parts of the kingdom, which, if referred to the committee, would undoubtedly have had a fair opportunity of being heard.

“ We cannot too amply acknowledge the readiness of His Majesty's Ministers in acceding to the propositions that were made, with a view to relieve the agricultural distress, and their willingness to leave such questions to the decision of members most respectable, and most competent from their knowledge of country affairs. I have reason to suppose that some of the Ministers were sensible of the propriety, and not adverse to a duty on the import : but unless the wool growers come forward with petitions, and state their grievances, it cannot be expected that Ministers will suppose them sufferers from a system in which they silently acquiesce, and oppose themselves to the clamours of the commercial and manufacturing part of the community, if not urged and supported by the landed interest. If, however, our government are properly informed and urged, we may certainly be persuaded that Ministers, as well as the Legislature, will attend to the claims of the great mass of the nation, rather than to the interested suggestions of the few dealers in foreign wool.

“ It is not a single petition from one district that will command the serious attention of the Legislature on the present occasion ; there should be petitions from Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Monmouthshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Berkshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and from every county and district where fine short wool is grown, whether in Great Britain or Ireland. We should take a lesson from our opponents: the energetic conduct of commercial and manufacturing men has always gained the advantage over the torpid owners and occupiers of land ; and if we do not come forward and cause ourselves to be heard, and our grievances to be known, we have no reason to expect them to be redressed. We have no reason to expect otherwise than that we shall be sacrificed, even to the mistaken interests of others.

“ It has been supposed, that the repeal of the laws prohibiting the export of wool would amply compensate for the

disadvantages arising from immense importations, but such repeal would do nothing for the growers of fine wool; and, unless a protecting duty can be obtained on the import of foreign wool, it may be doubted whether it will not be more prejudicial than beneficial to the country; there would be no demand from abroad for our short fine wools, such may be had cheaper in other countries. It is even now much more profitable to the farmer to grow long wool rather than short: there would be a demand from foreign countries for our long wool, for there is comparatively little such as ours grown in other countries, which of course would prejudice our manufacturers of that article, by enabling foreigners to vie with us in that branch in which we find little competition at present.

“As it is already much more beneficial to the farmer to grow long wool rather than short, it would become doubly so if the ports were open to the export; consequently, our wool growers would never raise any more than they could possibly help of the small fine fleeces, but every man of common sense would aim at quantity, regardless of quality.”

The report of the Earl of Sheffield was answered in a pamphlet, October, 1816,—

“TWO LETTERS TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL
“OF SHEFFIELD, in which his Lordship's Report at
“the Meeting at Lewes Wool Fair, and the Proceed-
“ings at a recent Meeting of Wool Growers at the
“Freemasons' Tavern, are examined, and the true
“state of the Wool Question attempted to be shown.
“By J. B. S.”

Before entering into detailed observations on the report of the Earl of Sheffield, J. B. S. referred to letters he had inserted some months previous to that address in a provincial newspaper, from which the following is extracted:—

“Of the importance of agriculture to all countries, there cannot exist a doubt in the mind of any man who reflects at all upon this subject; it is unquestionably the first and leading source of public and private happiness and comfort, and in no country more than our own: it must be considered as the fundamental basis of our national wealth and prosperity, and

must, therefore, ever be protected by the government, and esteemed by all sensible men as most deserving of such protection; every attention which can be paid to it, every facility that can be afforded it, every freedom it can enjoy, should be conceded to the utmost possible extent, provided that in such concession the other interests of the nation are not sacrificed. But as agricultural productions are indispensably necessary to the existence of the country, it is important that the laws which affect them should not be altered without its being defined, in the most clear and unequivocal manner, that by such changes the subsistence of the community at large is not endangered or impeded.

"It has frequently been argued, that whatever principles will apply to the export of one native commodity, will equally apply to any other, or to all the produce of the land; that if corn, cheese, and butter be admitted proper articles of export, so is wool, or any other commodity whatever. But this I flatly deny; butter and cheese, when ready for consumption at home, are just as much ready for exportation. Corn also, if exported at all, must be sent out *as corn*; for surely no man would grind it into flour or meal, and make it into oat-cake or loaves of bread, to export it; and yet what other operation can be performed upon it, after it is thrashed and brought to market, previous to its actual consumption?

"The difference between these articles and wool is, that corn, butter, and cheese, when ready for consumption, either at home or abroad, have already received the benefit of all the labour which can be employed upon them; they are, in short, completely *manufactured articles*, as, if the surplus quantity of them can be advantageously exported at all, it certainly can never be sent out of the country with any additional value upon it; but not so with wool. This commodity has acquired no additional value from manual labour, beyond the simple operation of shearing, when it is in a fit state for the use of the manufacturer; then it is that the beneficial application of labour may be said to commence. I know no better way of elucidating and enforcing my argument than by comparing wool with seed corn, and the woollen manufacture with the cultivation of grain. The earth is prepared for the reception of the seed by the inclosure of land,

ploughing, harrowing, and manure ; so is the woollen manufactory for the reception of its raw material by the erection of buildings and machinery for the various operations it has to go through. The seed is sown, and by the blessing of Providence, with due care on the part of the farmers, it turns out a good crop, is reaped, housed, and thrashed, and in proper time brought to market, and passes into the hands of the corn factor, who supplies the miller and baker for home consumption, and the merchant for exportation. Just so with wool ; it is sorted, combed, spun, wove, dyed, and finished, passed into the hands of the home merchant, who distributes it to the shopkeeper, or export merchant, for consumption. The farmer has bought his estate, or, what is tantamount, he pays the landowner an equivalent in rent ; he has stocked it at considerable expense, perhaps, and then his principal capital is sunk. The woollen manufacturer, too, has erected his warehouse, his spinning and weaving factories, and dye-houses, and filled them with steam engines, and other suitable machinery, which, with the necessary water-courses, tenter grounds, &c., occupy a considerable portion of his capital. The farmer pays his labourers for the various operations of preparing his grounds, sowing, reaping, and thrashing ; so the woollen manufacturer pays his spinners, weavers, dyers, and finishers, both of them increasing the value of the raw material, viz., the seed corn and the wool, by the amount of labour required for the various operations they undergo. The comparison holds good throughout, and it must never again be attempted to describe wool and corn as being on a level, viewing them as articles of exportation."

With respect to the contemplated tax on the importation of foreign wool, J. B. S. says—

"If reference be made to Spanish produce, (and this being the largest proportion, it is fair to take it for the sake of argument,) I would beg leave to apprise your Lordship, that within the last year, I have spent a few months in that country, and among other objects which attracted my notice, the growth, management, and commerce in wool were not quite omitted. From some documents now in my possession, procured upon the spot, I can state the charges paid in Spain, under the title of Derechos, Reales, Subencion, Consolida-

cion, &c., which, upon wool, amount to about eightpence per pound; add to this the charge of packing, conveyance to the port of shipment, expense of loading, merchant's and broker's commission, freight, insurance, duties and charges in England, and other petty expenses incidental to commercial affairs; and your Lordship will not stand in need of much assistance to form a total burthen of at least fifteen to eighteenpence per pound, borne by this class of foreign wool: and though I admit that but a small portion of this sum is received here, in the shape of taxes or tithes, still it is a charge upon the commodity, which gives the English farmer a correspondent advantage over his rival in Spain,—an advantage, in truth, equal to anything borne by the wool grower in England, in the shape of taxes or tithes, and beyond that, sufficient to cover, in a great measure, any duty that has hitherto been proposed to be laid upon foreign importations."

Soon after the report of the Earl of Sheffield was published, a general meeting of the agricultural interest took place at the Freemasons' Tavern, viz., on the 28th October, 1816, and to which meeting J. B. S. referred in his pamphlet, though the chief part of it bore an earlier date. After a lengthened discussion the following, amongst other resolutions, were passed:—

"That it is our opinion that nothing short of a protecting duty of 30 per cent. on all corn, meal, flour, rye, oats, peas, beans, barley, beer or big, wool, flax, hemp, hides, tallow, seeds, butter, and cheese, according to the price current in the United Kingdom, at the time of such import, which we consider equivalent to the taxes paid by the growers in this country, will protect the cultivator of the soil from foreign competition, and secure the grower a remunerating price, in proportion to the abundance or scantiness of his crops.

"That in the present improved state of agriculture, Government might safely and beneficially for the country at large, grant a drawback of 10 per cent. on the export of all corn, meal, flour, rye, oats, peas, beans, barley, beer or big, seeds, butter, and cheese, as a means of insuring employment to our peasantry, of continuing and encouraging such improved agriculture, the sure basis of national wealth and prosperity. For otherwise, redun-

dancy of produce may become almost as prejudicial from growth as from import."

The determination thus shown by the agricultural interest to use every effort to obtain what they called protecting duties, and to prevent the importation of foreign wool, notwithstanding the decision of the House of Commons that it was not expedient to make any alteration in the laws relating to woollen goods, and the trade in wool, kept both the wool growers and the woollen manufacturers in a constant state of alarm and anxiety, prejudicial to their respective interests.

CHAPTER XI.

1818—1819.

Observations on the Impolicy of permitting the Exportation of British Wool, and of preventing the free Importation of Foreign Wool, by John Maitland, Esq., M. P.—Appendix thereto—Speeches of Mr. Law and Mr. Plumer—Letter of the Marquis of Rockingham—Letters of J. B. S.—Letter of Sir Walter Raleigh—Letter of James Buchoff—"Armata," by Lord Erskine—"Philopatrina"—(Jno. Clay's) Answer to Lord Erskine—Motion for the Tax in the House of Commons—Meeting of the Wool and Woollen Trade in London—Petition to Parliament—Lord Sheffield's Address at Lewes Wool Fair—Answer, by James Buchoff—Meeting of Agriculturists in London—Resolutions—Motion for Wool Returns—Question, by Mr. Worsley—Tax on the Importation proposed by Government—Division thereon—Tax Imposed.

"OBSERVATIONS ON THE IMPOLICY OF PERMITTING THE
"EXPORTATION OF BRITISH WOOL, and of PREVENT-
"ING THE FREE IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN WOOL.
"By JOHN MAITLAND, Esq., M. P. 1818."

Mr. Maitland dedicated his work to Lord Lascelles, and most properly says—"I have chosen to place my observations under your lordship's protection, because the arduous zeal and the unwearied attention which you were pleased some years since to bestow in the committee of the House of Commons, on the investigation and revision of our laws respecting this most beneficial branch of our domestic and foreign commerce; and that dignified independence of mind, which you so conspicuously displayed in your conduct and opinions on that laborious and important occasion, assure me that your lordship will not be displeased at the liberty I have taken in so doing."

Mr. Maitland commences—

"However writers on political economy may have differed as to the mode in which the manufacturer produces wealth to

his country, it will not be denied, I believe, that whatever is obtained by skill and labour, is gain to it ; and in my humble judgment, gain of the most beneficial kind, because it prevents him and his family from becoming burthensome to the parish in which he resides, and in many instances enables him to contribute to the poor rates, while it furnishes him the means of paying for the maintenance of himself, and of those who are dependant upon him for support. In so doing he contributes his quota towards the general expenses of Government, and the interest due from the country to the stockholder ; and when the article which he manufactures is exported to a foreign market, and there sold, he accomplishes this desirable end in a fair and honourable manner, with funds drawn from the pocket of the foreigner. Assuming, therefore, this proposition to be true, we are, I think, not only performing a duty which we owe to ourselves and to those whom we represent, but are perhaps doing a real kindness to the owners of land, by demonstrating, concisely, and it is to be hoped impartially, to them, to ministers, and to Parliament, the peculiar advantages which the country derives from the manufacture of wool, and by recalling to their memory the anxious care and jealous protection which it has uniformly received from those who have held the reins of government in the country, from the earliest periods of history. Ever since England began to rise in the rank of nations, the manufacturing of wool has been considered the staple trade of the kingdom, and one of the principal sources of happiness, independence, and power : nor would it be difficult to prove that the growth and manufacture of wool has literally been the chief means of prosperity up to the present moment.

“ On these important grounds it is that I venture to contend, that previous to any alteration being made in the existing laws and regulations respecting wool, the most substantial reasons ought to be assigned, and the most incontrovertible facts adduced by the proposers of such a change, in order clearly to establish the fact that there does exist an imperious necessity for such alterations.”

Mr. Maitland then gives reasons, which have been already detailed, taken from various publications, as to the advantage of continuing the prohibition to export wool, grounded upon

the beneficial labour it gives to the country, and he dwells particularly on the part he himself took with Sir Joseph Banks, with respect to the merino sheep imported by George III. from Spain. (*Vide vol. 1, p. 356, and following.*)

In an appendix, Mr. Maitland gives extracts from the speeches of Lord Ellenborough and Sir Thomas Plumer, counsel for the manufacturers in the House of Lords, in 1800, which have been already referred to; an extract from a letter of the Marquis of Rockingham on the exportation of wool, and extracts from the pamphlet of J. B. S.: also an extract from a letter written by Sir Walter Raleigh to James I., on the advantages of the woollen manufacture in his time: extracts from Henry's History of England, and a letter from James Bischoff, the compiler of these Memoirs, recapitulating and enlarging upon the arguments used in his letter to Lord Milton, a copy of which has been already given.

At this period Lord Erskine published a book under the title of "*Armata*," describing the customs and character of Great Britain under that assumed name, in which he states,—

"We have a creature called the *blefar*, which is not only the perfection of animal food, but whose covering, given it by nature, becomes, when manufactured, our own also, and for many ages has been the pride and wealth of our country. Would you then believe, that though other nations produce the same animals at an inferior price, from their climate and untaxed condition, so as to render all competition ridiculous; yet this raw material is suffered to be imported, and worked up here, whilst the breeders of *Armata* can scarcely pay their shepherds for the care of their flocks, and are everywhere breaking up their farms, even in those parts of the island proverbially famous for their production?"

"I could not here help interrupting Morven by asking—What was your government about all this while? or rather, perhaps, I should ask if you have any government at all?"

"Certainly, he answered, we have one that is justly the envy of the world; but nothing is perfect. The matter was lately brought before the great council, and was passed over without redress; but you must not be hasty in judging of the national character from such a seemingly absurd determination. The great council is composed of men far superior for talents

and information to those of any other country, but who are now and then obliged to suffer their own sense to be overshadowed by the nonsense of others: they are not chosen equally by the various classes of an intelligent people, but are got together in such a manner, that local interests and local prejudices sometimes prevail over the opinion of enlightened statesmen. If you had understood our language, it would have amused you to have been present at the debate. The greater number said they would not depart from an ancient policy of free importation, under which the country had so long flourished, and I have no doubt they believe they were pursuing its best interests, but they probably never looked into an account—they knew nothing of the immense and alarming *increase* of the importations complained of, nor their former proportions at different periods to the home growth, nor the effect of this increase upon the staple of the country; nor did they consider whether their own *bleturs* might not be brought, by proper encouragement, to a higher, perhaps to a perfection equal to those of any other country, so as in time to supply most of our manufactures at as cheap a rate, preserving within ourselves the immense sums annually drained from us by purchasing abroad that we might produce at home. When this improvident conclusion of the select body was brought before the whole council, they, without further examination, confirmed it; and then, as innocently as the *bleturs* which were the subjects of their decision, went out of the fold in which they had been penned, to scatter themselves over the capital, where I will very soon carry you to see them."

"Have you then now, said Morven, any other questions to propose? I am impatient to hear your opinions."

The great and versatile talents of Lord Erskine gave him a station at the bar, which, without the depth of knowledge possessed by lawyers, had been seldom equalled: he was full of information, anecdote, and wit. His work "*Armata*," written in his best and most powerful style, could not fail to excite attention; and such parts as related to a duty on corn and wool received a very able reply, entitled—

" A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD ERSKINE, on such parts of his ' ARMATA ' as relates to CORN and WOOL ; in which restrictions on Importation, with their effects on Commerce, Agriculture, and the Situation of the Labouring Classes, are considered. By ' Philopatria.' 1818."

The author of this work was Mr. John Clay, of Raistrick, near Huddersfield.

As Lord Erskine took his chief data from the annual Reports of the Earl of Sheffield, at the Lewes wool fairs, and which had been answered by J. B. S. and others, it is unnecessary to dwell upon that part of the subject.

Philopatria says,—

" From several parts of your ' Armata,' it appears, that your Lordship does not write to injure our foreign commerce ; but, as the measures you so strongly advocate in that work could not fail to do it, I purpose, in the first place, to show, that bounties on exportation, and restrictions on the importation of articles necessary for subsistence, and especially taxes on the raw materials of our manufactures, must raise the price of them, and, consequently, destroy their sale abroad ; and, in the second place, to show that the loss of our foreign trade would be as fatal to the landed as to the commercial interests of this country.

" The plan of relieving the agricultural interest by granting a bounty on the exportation of corn is of all others the worst ; for, whilst it raises the price in the home market, it depresses it abroad. It is also a double tax on the community, one to pay the bounty, and another, of twenty times the amount, paid in the advanced price of corn that it occasions."

I shall, however, make no more extracts from this work as respects corn, but proceed to wool, the immediate object of this compilation.

" You complain that wool is suffered to be imported from other countries, ' where, from the climate and untaxed condition, they can produce the article at such an inferior price as to render all competition ridiculous.' Now, the truth is, that every pound of wool imported from Spain, (which is what our wool-growers complain of,) costs in taxes there, in freight,

insurance, and a small duty here, from 15d. to 18d. per lb., which must be much more than sufficient to protect our farmer in that article. The justice of the decision of the House of Commons was proved by the evidence given before its Committee, in which, notwithstanding the clamour that had been raised, it was clearly shown that no part of the agricultural distress was occasioned by the high price of wool.

“ Every person who understands the woollen manufacture, will, I think, acknowledge, that British wool, made into cloth by itself, from its flimsy texture, roughness, and want of body, would not meet with a market anywhere. Low foreign wool, on the contrary, makes a cloth with a sufficient firmness and body, but is too harsh, and the two wools mixed together make a much superior article to what either of them would do alone. Now, a tax of one shilling per pound on the importation of *all* foreign wool would act as a total prohibition to that sort the quality of which is necessary to mix with our own, whilst its effect on the finest sorts, which are made into cloth for the home market, would be very trifling. In fact, the British grower of wool is advocating a measure that would be fatal to his own commodity, for it would destroy the foreign sale of cloth, in which it is principally used, and it is not of a quality good enough to make them suited to the home market. After merino sheep have been kept some years in this country, their wool not only degenerates in quality, but it loses its superior quality of firmness in felting, possessed by foreign, and assimilates in that respect to our own: but there is another cause; the farmer finds, that even if he sells his wool at an extravagantly high price, it does not pay him so well as sheep more congenial to the climate.

“ Lord Sheffield, no doubt seeing that the measure he advocates would destroy our export of woollens, speaks lightly of its loss, and wants to prove it of small importance. He speaks of the monopoly of the home market as being an ample compensation to the manufacturers for the loss of the export trade, consequent on a tax being laid on the importation of foreign wool. Though this monopoly does not benefit the woollen manufacturers, yet, as great stress is laid upon it, to justify similar monopolies, on the part of the agriculturists, it merits some notice on that account. But, allowing it did

benefit the manufacturers, it could not have that effect which Lord Sheffield supposes; for the manufactures for the home market, and those for foreign trade, are generally carried on, in some measure, distinct from each other; the former principally in the West of England, and the latter in Yorkshire.

“By prohibiting the importation of foreign cloth, in the infancy of the woollen trade in this country, there can be no doubt but the community would have to pay a greater price for an inferior article of home manufacture. The object was to force manufactures; and though the improvement to agriculture, consequent on that system, has amply repaid their posterity, yet there can be no doubt but that it was at the expense of the landowners of that day. But so far as relates to the time-being, if we can import cloth or corn cheaper than we can make the one or grow the other, there can be no doubt but it is better to import than to produce them ourselves. Dr. Adam Smith very justly observes, ‘that by the means of glass for hot-beds and hot walls, very good grapes can be raised in Scotland, and very good wine too can be made of them, at about thirty times the expense for which at least equally good can be brought from foreign countries. Would it be a reasonable law to prohibit the importation of all foreign wines, merely to encourage the making of claret and Burgundy in Scotland? Attempting to grow wheat on land so little calculated to produce it, that it costs £5 per quarter, while it can be imported at 50s. per quarter, is as absurdity the same in kind, but not so great in degree.’ But when the manufactures have arrived at that degree of maturity that they can be exported to other European countries without a bounty, they can be very little affected by the freest importation of foreign goods; such manufactures must be sold as cheap abroad as any other foreign goods of the same quality and kind, and consequently must be sold cheaper at home. Such is the present state of our woollen manufacture, and that Minister would be its greatest friend who could open the most foreign markets for our cloths, on condition that we admitted the importation of theirs in return.

“But if the system of adding restriction to restriction on the important articles of subsistence and raw materials be continued, they must become so much dearer than foreign, as







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to want protection, even in the home market, they, of course, must cease to be exported.

“ If it were not of too serious a nature, one should be tempted to smile, at seeing how little feeling Lord Sheffield has for any body of men but wool growers. He says, ‘ *We must not suppose the nation ruined, if the exportation of woollens in future should not exceed the average exportation previous to the late war.*’ The woollen manufacturer might with equal propriety say, that we must not suppose the nation ruined, if the farmer can get no higher price for his wool and other produce than he did previous to the late war,—for there are more people in England dependant on the export of woollens for subsistence than there are on the growth of fine wool; for the bulk of British wool does not come within that description, and the combing and low sorts have of late years sold for unprecedentedly high prices. But then we are told, that without much higher prices for his produce, the farmer cannot pay his taxes. But will the ruining of the manufacturer, who has hitherto bought his produce at higher prices than it is sold for in any other part of Europe, enable him to pay them? If this were merely an agricultural country, it would be a matter of little importance whether the prices of articles of subsistence were high or low; for what the landlord and farmer received in additional price on the one hand, they would have to pay in additional price on the other; but in a country like this, where millions of its inhabitants are totally dependant on foreign trade for their means of subsistence, the case is very different. In our present situation, the question to be considered is, whether we are so unrivalled in our manufactures, and possess that decided superiority in them over every other country, that foreigners will be induced to pay a great part of our taxes charged upon the articles they buy of us? For the value of the piece of cloth, for instance, consists of the price of the wool of which it is made, and the labour bestowed upon it in the different processes of its manufacture. If the price of wool and corn, which regulates the price of labour, be raised, to enable the farmer to pay his taxes, the cloth must be advanced in the same proportion, consequently the buyer, not the farmer, strictly speaking, pays the taxes.

"That we are not in such a situation, your Lordship, as well as Lord Sheffield, will readily admit; for your Lordship, when speaking of machinery, says,—*'In the present condition of the country, you could not send a bale of your manufactures into a foreign country or market, if they were to be worked by manual labour, and then the most diligent of your people must perish.'* Destroying machinery could only prevent the sale of our manufactures abroad, by raising the price of them; and your Lordship, I trust, is by this time convinced that raising the price of the raw material of them and corn must have the same effect.

"Lord Sheffield says that, *'the competition which our manufacturers meet with abroad, should induce us to look steadily and zealously to what is called the home market, which, with proper management, we may always command and preserve.'* This last sentence is more extraordinary than could be expected even from Lord Sheffield; for in it he virtually allows, that the measure he advocates would destroy our foreign trade: but then he wishes us to believe, that the home market would not be affected by its loss. It is supposed that not less than one-fourth of the population of England is dependant upon foreign trade for support; and surely Lord Sheffield must be aware that the people employed in that trade not only furnish a market for the produce of the agriculturist, but for each other also. Destroy the foreign trade, and you destroy the home market to the same extent.

"But does Lord Sheffield really suppose that without foreign trade we could support all the colonies and dependencies of which he makes such parade? What is there in the climate and soil of Great Britain to give her so much greater power than other countries, much more favoured in both respects? With her foreign trade the sun of her greatness arose, and with the loss of her foreign trade it will set.

"The trade and agriculture of a country are so closely connected, that what injures the one must be hurtful to the other; for, as your Lordship observes, *'God has so fashioned the world that all his creatures must flourish or decay together.'* It is well known that agricultural produce is cheaper on the continent of Europe than it is here; if it were not so, there would be no occasion for laws to prevent its importation. The

cause of its being so must be the immense population raised in this country, by manufacturing for foreign markets, to consume the produce of the farmer; for when both the raw materials and the corn consumed by the labourer are of home growth, it is clear that the agriculturist reaps nearly the whole benefit of foreign trade; for the labourer, whilst employed in making cloth or any other article, is simply preparing the farmer's produce for exportation in another and more portable form.

“Dr. Smith, in his ‘Wealth of Nations,’ speaking on this subject, says,—‘*For though neither the rude produce (agricultural,) nor even the coarse manufacture, could, without the greatest difficulty, support the expenses of a considerable land carriage, the refined and improved manufacture easily may. In a small bulk it frequently contains the price of a great quantity of rude produce. A piece of fine cloth, for instance, which weighs only eighty pounds, contains in it the price not only of eighty pounds’ weight of wool, but sometimes of several thousand weight of corn, the maintenance of the different working people, and of their immediate employers. The corn which with difficulty would be carried abroad in its own shape, is, in this manner, virtually exported in that of the complete manufacture, and may easily be sent to the remotest corners of the world.*’

“There can be no exception of the whole benefit of this kind, from foreign trade, accruing to the agriculturist, except the profit reaped by the merchant and the manufacturer, who find the capital and employ the labourer; for though part of the wages received by the labourer whilst preparing the article for the foreign market is expended for apparel and other necessities, yet the labourer who had prepared those articles, was in his turn only converting agricultural produce into another shape. The merchant and manufacturer certainly do receive part of the profit, but it is in the same manner as the corn factor and miller reap part of the profit of agriculture, for the employment of both is virtually the same, that of preparing and carrying to market the produce of the farmer.

“All trade and all employment has its origin in land: there is not a raw material, animal, vegetable, or mineral, which has not its origin in land, either in the immediate production,

PHILOPATRIA TO LORD ERSKINE,

port. The manufacturer is employed in improving the produce of the land only; and if you go on to the painter, it is the same invariable rule,—the painter, the artist, must get land for his rude and improved raw material, which he still further improves, and gives them value by his taste. The orator and singer are perhaps the only who do not immediately resort to land for their raw materials; and even they can be scarce called exceptions, for without the produce of the soil they could not exist; and therefore the bread they eat becomes indirectly the raw material on which they labour. Where there is no employment, no occupation, no amusement, which does not depend on the land, is not beneficial to land; and it ever has been, and ever will be the case, that when labour is most in demand, and when the arts and sciences most progress, land becomes more valuable; and increased improvements, by the labour of others, are as invariably beneficial to the landed proprietor, when he does not by unwise laws check those improvements and the advantages they bring to him."

Large quotations have been made from Mr. Clay's book, because they contain strong reasoning, in plain but forcible language. His first work, "On the Advantages of a better Commercial Intercourse with France," was an excellent publication; and indeed whatever he has written evinces sound sense and good judgment; but "Philopatria" must not be parted with even here, without giving the conclusion of his short but very valuable work.

"The idea of encouraging agriculture at the expense of trade is absurd, for their real interests are the same, and anything which, by raising the price of our manufactures, prevents their being exported, takes away the market for agricultural produce, in that shape, with the addition, so long as the poor laws continue, of the farmer having the labourer to support, without receiving any benefit from his labour.

"Dr. Smith, though he disliked what he calls the mercantile system, was much too acute a reasoner, to think of promoting agriculture at the expense of commerce and manufactures. 'Whatever,' he says, 'tends to diminish in any country the number of artificers and manufacturers, tends to diminish the home market, the most important of all markets, for the

rude produce of the land, and thereby still further to discourage agriculture. Those systems, therefore, which, preferring agriculture to all other employments, in order to promote it, impose restraints upon manufactures and foreign trade, act contrary to the very end which they propose, and indirectly discourage that very species of industry which they mean to promote.'

“ In the most favorable state of manufactures, when the raw material, and the corn necessary for the support of the labourer whilst engaged in working it up, are both imported, it does not injure, but benefit the agriculturist ; for it provides a market for the produce of our own farmers in the most plentiful years, and he receives a better price for it than the foreign agriculturist, by the freight and other expenses of importation.

“ We see from the example of Holland, that this kind of trade may greatly increase the riches of a country, and the population employed in it contribute largely to the support of the state, by paying those taxes which press to the full as heavily on them as on the farmer.

“ A moment's reflection must convince any person, that without the assistance of commerce, the taxes necessary for the support of government could not be raised ; for if the manufacturer is crushed, either the nation must become bankrupt, or the agriculturist is ruined.

“ It may be justly inferred, that in the present state of Europe we have every thing to lose and nothing to gain in the attempt to raise the price of agricultural produce by artificial means. The effect of all acts of Parliament passed with that intent can be but temporary, for the necessary consequence of them must be the loss of our foreign trade, which will much more certainly reduce its price, than any measure of the legislature can tend to raise it ; for natural causes are much stronger than artificial ones.

“ By encouraging trade, the highest prices that can afford to be given will be always obtained for the farmer's produce ; and it will be found that *trade and land will both increase and decay with each other ; when it is ill with trade, land will fall ; when well with trade, land will flourish.**

* Sir Josiah Child.

PHILOPATRIA TO LORD ERSKINE.

Not a very clear idea of your Lordship's meaning, by that '*the soil of every country, and the bringing to perfection its various productions, are the fountains of all wealth and prosperity.*' If you mean that the country must arise from that source alone, the fact that all nations, both ancient and modern, proves the contrary. Was the wealth of Carthage produced by her soil? Or did Holland grow rich by the cultivation of soil, not adequate to the support of more than one-fourth of her population? If applied to this country, it is that the wealth and power of Great Britain are the result of commerce only. Agriculture alone could not have supported the possessor of so many colonies, the mistress of the ocean, and the envy of the world. Commerce is necessary to bring the agriculture of a country to perfection, for without a manufacturing population to consume the products of the earth, they will never be raised; and there never was a country possessing extensive trade, where agriculture did not flourish.

"We have of late heard much of the superior permanency of agricultural states, when compared with those that depend on commerce. The want of permanency of most modern commercial states, cannot be matter of astonishment: the wonder is, that with means so very inadequate, they ever became great. Commerce alone could have made them so; but their territories were too small to employ the riches which flowed from that commerce, in the cultivation of their soil, and in raising a population sufficiently numerous to preserve their independence.

"When we look at the high rank Holland obtained amongst the nations of Europe, we forget that the extent of her soil, as an agricultural country, would not have supported more than half a million of inhabitants; and though the population was raised by commerce to two millions, yet that number was totally inadequate for her defence against neighbours infinitely more powerful: that country is a standing refutation of all arguments used in favour of corn laws and restrictions on commerce.

"Though Holland supported a *manufacturing population* by *foreign agriculture*, importing three-fourths of the corn

necessary for its consumption, yet she flourished and became rich, and was in so little danger of being starved by depending upon a foreign supply, that she was looked upon as the granary of Europe.

“ There is no commercial state which has existed in modern times, that possessed a population so numerous, and territories so extensive as Great Britain. In ancient history, Carthage seems to have come the nearest to her in this respect ; Carthage flourished and enjoyed the empire of the seas for six hundred years, and might have maintained her greatness much longer, had she not been opposed to the Romans, before whose superior power all other states, both agricultural and commercial, crumbled into dust. Commerce did not accelerate, but protracted her fall, for if she had been merely an agricultural country, she must have fallen a much easier prey to Rome.

“ France, from the superior extent and fertility of her soil, and possessing a much more numerous population, would have been greatly an overmatch for this as an agricultural country ; and without the resources which commerce gave to Great Britain, the whole of Europe would now have been prostrate at the feet of Buonaparte.

“ By pursuing the same system which has raised this country so high in the scale of nations, Great Britain may continue to flourish for ages to come, as she has flourished for ages that are past ; but as commerce long has been, and still is, the source of her power, with the loss of her commerce she must fall.”

On the 14th April, 1818, Mr. WALTER BURRELL, member of Parliament for Sussex, moved in the House of Commons for a Select Committee to inquire into the state of the laws regulating the wool trade, with a view to propose thereon a duty on the importation of foreign wool, and to repeal those laws which prohibited the exportation of British wool.

Upon a division, the question was lost ; there being—

For the motion.....	80
Against it.....	85
	—
Majority against it.....	5

A meeting of those interested in the woollen trade in London had prepared the following petition :—

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled :

"The Humble Petition of the Merchants and Traders in Wool and Woollen Manufactures, resident in London ;

"SHewETH,

"That in the year 1816, a petition was presented, signed by many of your petitioners, to your Honourable House, setting forth the serious consequences which would ensue to your petitioners, and others concerned in the trade in wool and woollens, if certain alterations in the laws affecting the wool and woollen trade, then proposed and under discussion before your Honourable House, should be adopted and carried into effect. That your Honourable House was pleased to refer that petition to a select committee of your Honourable House, then appointed to inquire into the causes of agricultural distress, which at that time prevailed, and to suggest the best means for relief against them. That from the tenour of the above-mentioned petition, and of others presented to your Honourable House, at the same period, and from evidence given before your Honourable Committee, your Honourable Committee were convinced that no part of the agricultural distress then existing arose from the price of wool ; and that if the examination of manufacturers and others connected with the wool and woollen trades was proceeded in and made public, great injury would accrue to all persons concerned in the woollen manufacture, by conveying valuable and important information to foreigners ; and by the report then made to your Honourable House by the Chairman of your Honourable Committee, a stop was put, for the time, to the further examination of evidence on the subject in question.

"That your petitioners have heard with the greatest concern and alarm, that notice has been given by a member of your Honourable House, of a motion for the appointment of another committee to take the laws relative to wool into consideration, and to propose certain alterations therein.

"That your petitioners do not doubt that the evidence they should give before a committee would convince the Committee of your Honourable House that the continuance of the present laws is necessary for the protection and encouragement of the woollen manufactures ; and that the proposed alterations of them must tend to remove to foreign countries that most important branch of our trade, which not only gives employment to an immense

population, immediately concerned in the woollen manufactures, and which constitutes the most considerable part of the strength, riches, and resources of the country, but the removal of which would bring ruin upon that population, and upon others employed in trades dependant on the woollen manufacture.

“Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly and earnestly pray that your Honourable House will not agree to the appointment of another committee, and thereby expose your petitioners, and others, to the inevitable injury which must ensue from the public examination of evidence relative to the nature of this manufacture and its value to the country; and which must of necessity give to foreigners, anxiously striving to carry this branch of our commerce to their respective countries, most important information, to the great and incalculable injury of your petitioners, and all others connected with the wool and woollen trade, many of whom have embarked large capital in buildings, machinery, &c., by which the manufacture is carried on, in full dependance, not only on the continuance of the present laws, but also that the system on which they carry on their trade will not, by public examination, be made known to foreign rivals; and from the great agitation which a question of this importance will produce on an immense population, employed, and depending on the woollen manufacture, and whose support and existence in this country they conceive to depend on the continuance of the present laws.

“And your petitioners, &c., &c.”

On the 6th August, 1818, the Earl of Sheffield, being confined by indisposition, sent a written address to the wool growers of Sussex, assembled at the Lewes fair, in which he said—

“It is with much regret that I find myself, on recovering from a long and severe indisposition, still prevented from attending the Lewes wool fair. My absence on the present occasion more particularly concerns me, from an anxiety to suggest to the consideration of the meeting some topics highly deserving of its notice, and intimately connected with the agricultural prosperity of the country.

“I have stated to you on former occasions, and with great satisfaction, that in consequence of the unremitted and expensive exertions of our most able agriculturists, the wool of this country has been in a high degree increased in quantity and improved in quality. From these successful efforts, we had

not unreasonably cherished the sanguine expectation of being allowed to reap commensurate advantage. We had hoped that the importation of foreign wool, especially to the enormous and inexpedient extent to which it has been recently carried, would have been checked and regulated by some provisions of the Legislature. But as yet this principle, plain and necessary as it is, has been hitherto neglected or opposed; and, in consequence of a disgraceful and heedless policy, our wool, instead of bearing a reasonable and steady price, is frequently so debased in value by the large importations which have taken place, that it cannot generally continue to answer to the agriculturist to raise that kind of wool which has for so many centuries supplied and supported our excellent manufactures.

“When the woollen manufactories of other countries shall have recovered from the derangement and ruinous consequences of the late wars, we must expect a decreased demand for our manufactures, and consequently for our short wool, which of course will become a drug, and the price debased, as has been lately the case, unless some check is given to the importation of foreign wool. It is, therefore, that I urge you to pursue the only measure which remains to secure a fair and steady market for a product of so much consequence to national welfare; and I shall rejoice to hear that you persevere zealously and resolutely in your very commendable application for such a duty on the import of foreign wool as may be thought sufficient to afford a reasonable protection to our wool.”

“It is painful to me to observe that the owners and occupiers of land have been unaccountably supine and negligent on this great question, and have been hitherto effectually counteracted in their views by the eagerness and energy of the manufacturers, and of those interested and prejudiced persons who espouse their cause. But there is still no reason to despond. During the last session, the proposition for a committee to inquire into the propriety of a protecting duty on the importation of foreign wool was lost, but by a small majority of five, though the friends of that measure were far less assiduous in their exertions than they ought to have been to obtain an attendance in the House favourable to their

application, whilst their opponents, who seemed to think it necessary to sacrifice every other interest to their unjust and ill-considered propositions, were indefatigable in their opposition.

“ It would appear, therefore, that the common sense and public spirit of the country are beginning to view this important subject in its proper light, and every encouragement seems to be afforded to the renewal of an application for a duty on imported wool, or, in other words, to the prosecution of the only measure which can prevent the speedy deterioration and ruin of the growth of fine wools in the United Kingdom, and consequently the decline of all those essential manufactures in which that kind of wool is employed.

“ There might be some semblance of an argument in favour of the importation of the finest wools, if we were to suppose that such could not be raised in this climate ; but there is nothing like an argument in support of an unrestricted importation of such wools as can be grown of an excellent quality in this country. A protecting duty of one shilling per lb. on foreign wool would not obstruct the importation of the finest and best wools of Spain ; and if it should in some degree raise the price to our own manufacturers, it would not affect our foreign trade, since very little, comparatively, is exported of our manufacture of the finest foreign wool.

“ The great effect of this duty would be to check the importation of such coarser wools as so prejudicially interfere with the wool of British growth ; and this effect would not only promote an abundant supply of our own wool, but a safer and more ready market than it has hitherto enjoyed.

“ I am sorry to say that our landed interest, on which the real prosperity of the country so essentially depends, is too often borne down in the House of Commons by the clamours and efforts of men who are comparatively little concerned in the general welfare, and who seem to imagine that everything should give way to their views of the monied and manufacturing interests of the kingdom. Yet none have a greater stake in the country, or are so much interested in its real welfare, as the owners and occupiers of the soil ; and the policy which has so frequently neglected or not resisted their

WORDS OF THE EARL OF SHEFFIELD

must eventually excite great and well-founded dissent, and promote opinions calculated to encourage immo-
re injurious, if not fatal, to the order, the welfare, and
constitution of the realm.

There are those, who, on this question, seem to think
every thing is to be sacrificed for a foreign market, as if
that market were the only one on which we had to depend
for the sale of our productions, or as if it were the best and
most profitable. Now, the truth is clearly the reverse. It
is not only not the best and most profitable, but the most pre-
carious and fluctuating. We may be driven from it by the
contingencies of war, by the artifices of policy, by the effects
of competition, and by that failure of demand for our own,
which may arise from the growing manufactures of other
countries. Whereas, the sure and highly-improving markets
of the British empire are liable to none of those causes of
unsteadiness and decline, are always sufficient to employ a
vast number of manufacturers, and to consume infinitely the
greater part of our manufactures. This, generally called the
home trade, in contradistinction to the foreign market, in-
cludes not only England, Scotland, and Ireland, but all the
colonies in North America, the whole of the West Indies,
the Cape of Good Hope, Gibraltar, Malta, and all places
now in our occupation, containing a population of nearly
thirty millions, exclusive of negroes and Indians. Such a
market, compared with which our export trade to foreign
nations is insignificant, we cannot consent to impair or sacri-
fice for any other, by no means, for the supply (so much
exaggerated of late by certain declaimers) of the few millions
of people, not very opulent, scattered over the thinly-inhab-
ited country of the American States. The woollen manu-
factures of England have been computed to amount to
£28,000,000. It is not easy to form an accurate calculation;
but that sum is, I think, the lowest.

“ The value of the British woollens exported from Great
Britain in the three last years, has been as follows :—

Value, as calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.

1815.	1816.	1817.
£7,486,022	£5,842,747	£6,074,729

Valuation, according to the Declaration of the Merchant Exporters.

1815.	1816.	1817.
£10,200,927	... £8,404,528	... £7,948,919

“ Now, of the whole of this export, scarcely the amount of one million actually ever went to foreign markets for direct consumption. The rest is consumed in the home market, which includes, as before stated, Ireland, the Colonies, and other dependencies of Great Britain. I do not mean, however, in thus adverting to the superior importance of the home market, and the claims which it possesses to all possible encouragement on the part of the legislature, to imply an opinion that our foreign trade is to be neglected or sacrificed. It is principally beneficial, as taking off any redundancy that may occur, and thus preventing the loss and discouragement of the manufacturer. If, indeed, the home and foreign markets were to be put in opposition to each other, and the alternative of necessarily abandoning one of them presented itself, there would be no difficulty in deciding which should be preferred. But I am decidedly of opinion, that the due encouragement of the home market would operate favourably on the foreign; and if, by a duty on the import of foreign wool, we might be induced so to cultivate our own wool as to render us independent, or nearly so, of foreign nations for their fleeces, we should preserve a considerable portion of our capital at home, which is now paid to foreign countries for wool, to the annual amount of upwards of two millions sterling; we should be able to supply our own woollen manufacturers with the raw material, more certainly, and on better terms, than they are supplied at present; and by this demand for a home product in preference to a foreign, the agricultural interests of the country would be proportionably encouraged and advanced.

“ The necessity of encouraging the growth of our own wools does not depend on these arguments alone for its confirmation and support, or by observations like these. It is certain, that if we suffer our wools to decline, our woollen manufactures must decline also, in precisely the same proportion. The whole world would not be able to supply us with wool sufficient for our own demand. Whatever capital we might possess, we could not procure from other countries more than they could spare from their own supply, and which

MR. JAMES BISCHOFF'S ANSWER

...ly inadequate to their wants. If we could produce a sufficient supply, the price would rise with the demand, and the demand increase in proportion to the decline of our wools, till, supposing our capital could afford such an outlay, our woollens would advance to a price which would necessarily exclude them from a foreign market. It is therefore of great moment to the prosperity of our woollen manufactures to encourage the growth of our own wools at home. By such means only, we can render ourselves independent of other countries for an article of the utmost importance to our trade: and, if we should once become dependent on them, they will know how to regulate their prices by our wants, and thus impose on our great manufacture a burden under which it must infallibly decline, and eventually perish!"

The compiler of these Memoirs inserted an answer to Lord Sheffield's report in the *Leeds Mercury*, from which the following is extracted:—

"It was hoped, that the manner in which the important question with respect to the proposed alterations in the laws regulating wool and the woollen trade was received in the House of Commons the last session of Parliament, would have set it at rest for ever. As, however, the address of the Earl of Sheffield professes a determination not only to bring forward this measure again, but to persevere in it till the object is attained, it appears absolutely necessary that his Lordship's arguments should be canvassed and examined. I shall endeavour to do it with candour, and with that respect which is due to a British nobleman.

"Hitherto the great arguments used by those friendly to a duty on the importation of foreign wool have been confined to the low price of wool grown in England, and which has not been thought sufficient remuneration to the grower. This, however, in consequence of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons last year, grounded on the then high price of wool, and the decision of the House of Commons this year, is proved to have no weight; and since that time the advance in the price of English wool has been very great, as the following statement, taken from Lord Sheffield's Reports, will prove:—

The Prices of Wool at Hereford Fair in the Years
1817. 1818.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Ryeland ...	1	7½	to	1	11	...	2	5	to	3	2½
Merino	2	11	...			...	4	0	...	4	3

“ Wools of every other description have advanced in similar proportion ; but they now wish to show that wool has been formerly an unsaleable drug in the market, that it may be so again, and that, notwithstanding its present enormous price, a duty should be imposed to prevent an evil, which may at some future period arise. You, as manufacturers, are as good judges of the quality of wool as the growers ; you see it in all its stages, and have the best means of obtaining a perfect knowledge of its properties. I would, therefore, ask if you have ever seen any produced in England equal to the finest qualities of wool imported from Spain and Germany ? I admit that it is very possible that a very wealthy agriculturist, by the greatest care and attention, might produce a small quantity of beautiful wool, but I think you will agree with me, that you could not collect in England sufficient to supply a single loom, for one year, equal to the finest Saxon and Spanish wools you are in the habit of working up. My argument then holds good, that foreign wool is necessary for our manufactures of superfine cloth, and that wool for that purpose cannot be grown in England of sufficient quality or quantity. It consequently becomes a question of serious moment, whether it be prudent and politic to tax a raw material absolutely necessary to a most important branch of our manufactures.

“ The agriculturists have done all they possibly could, by the importation of merino sheep, and by unceasing attention, to improve English wool, and yet they have found it impossible to produce it equal to what is imported ; but if that were possible, there is still this material difference betwixt the two, the quantity of English fine wool would be much less than the quantity that could be imported. Lord Sheffield himself admits that the arguments are not so strong as applied to the finest wools, but he states that the case is different in some qualities of English wool, with which the imported wools interfere. Is it, however, prudent to lay a duty on the whole

of the wool imported, for the encouragement of a small part of that grown here, the expense on all wool imported, exclusive of duties and charges abroad, being upon the average four pence per lb? Is not this alone a great advantage to the English farmer? There are few countries from which we import wool, that do not take the manufactured articles in return. If, then, we pay them three shillings per lb. for their wool, and return them the same wool, with labour attached to it equal to six shillings per lb., is not that a great advantage to the country? But if we lay a tax of one shilling per lb. upon their wool, they not only cannot afford to pay us the duty on the labour bestowed upon the wool, but will lay duties on other articles they import from England, as a compensation to them for the loss of the sale of wool. This was the consequence of imposing a heavy duty on the importation of butter; a corresponding duty was laid in Holland on the importation of English manufactured goods, almost amounting to a prohibition; and if we lay a tax on the wool coming from Spain and Germany, similar measures will be adopted there.

"Lord Sheffield attaches very little importance to our foreign trade, and estimates its amount at only one million. I by no means wish to take from the home trade; it gives steady regular employment to a vast population; but Lord Sheffield's idea of this trade is far more, and his ideas of the foreign trade far less than their reality. He considers the exports to all our foreign colonies in North America, the West Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, Gibraltar, Malta, and all places now in our occupation, as part of the home trade. If our exportations to those places were solely confined to their own consumption, they might, by great stretch of argument, be so considered. His lordship should have stated that many of them are free ports, from which immense trade is carried on to foreign countries, so that a very small part is for their own consumption; and our foreign trade is so far important, as every shilling received for the produce and labour of England, is so much gain to it. But admitting that the home trade is far greater than the foreign, it will be well for the agriculturist to consider, if the demand for his wool will be sufficient to advance the price after a heavy tax is laid

on that imported, or if his wool would bear the advance. Ask the farmer what descriptions of wool have yielded the least profit, and he would probably answer, that, till the late advances, the South Down and fine English wools. The manufacturers know that the cloth from the same wool, even at reduced prices, has been least profitable; and if you apply to the merchants and exporters, you will find that even at this day they have heavy stocks in the United States of America, as well as in other markets, many of which have been there two years, and bought when fine English wool was about half its present price; and still, notwithstanding the coarsest and the finest cloths have been constantly sold to advantage, they are unable to sell their cloth made from South Down and other English wools of those qualities, without loss. Would, therefore, a tax on the importation of foreign wool assist the growers of fine English wool? It would probably be the reverse: if the immediate effect of a tax were a still greater advance, it would put a stop to foreign demand, and our own countrymen would find cloth made from the finest wool cheaper eventually than what was made of English wool: it would be again left an unsaleable drug on the hands of the farmers, till they were obliged to reduce the price. Lord Sheffield complains that the poor rates fall almost exclusively on the proprietor and cultivator of the land. Is this the case? Do the manufacturers pay no poor rates for the houses in which they and their workmen dwell, and for their manufactories? All pay, and feel that they pay, this tax; but besides this, they are indirectly taxed for the advantage of the landed interest. What are the corn laws, but a mode of fixing high prices on the most necessary article of life, which high price is paid to the grower by the populous manufacturing districts where there is most consumed? Is there not besides something due from the agriculturist to the manufacturer? Is it not the population of the country that gives value to the produce of the land? Lord Sheffield speaks of the few millions of people, not very opulent, scattered over the thinly inhabited country of the American States; but are those States less populous than the Sussex Downs and the Romney Marsh? Would those districts be more opulent than the wilds of America, if they had not manufacturers to pay them a high

price for their wool, mutton, and corn? or could those districts, and others where wool is most grown, have protected themselves, unassisted by the manufacturers, from those armies which have within a few years carried war, with all its horrors, over every part of Europe, Great Britain excepted? Our fleets and armies were not manned by agriculturists and shepherds alone, but also by manufacturers. It is the whole body that constitutes the strength and riches of the nation; and both classes are equally valuable to their country."

The landed interest, in accordance with the advice given by the Earl of Sheffield, made every possible exertion to obtain what they called protecting duties on every imported article which they thought would interfere with the produce of the soil.

A meeting of agriculturists from several counties in England, was held at Henderson's Hotel, Palace Yard, Westminster, on the 14th of January, 1819, of which George Webb Hall, Esq. was chairman, at which an Agricultural Association was formed, and certain resolutions were passed: and another meeting called, to be held at the same place, Feb. 15th, 1819. At that meeting there attended deputies from Gloucestershire, Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hampshire, Herefordshire, Hertfortshire, Huntingdonshire, Middlesex, Norfolk, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, and Warwickshire; George Webb Hall, Esq. in the chair.—At which it was resolved to take measures to obtain protecting duties on the importation of every article the growth of the soil.

These measures on the part of the agriculturists being for general protection, and wool also being included amongst the various other articles of their produce, they are so far within the scope of the object of these Memoirs; it is, however, my object to confine them as much as possible to wool alone, and I do not think it necessary to give the arguments used on the general question of protecting duties.

On the 23rd of March, 1819, Mr. Sumner, member for Surrey, moved in the House of Commons for "a Return of the quantity of sheep and lambs' wool imported since 1816, and of the quantity of woollen manufactures exported, specifying

the countries to and from which they were exported and imported ;” which was ordered.

The writer of these Memoirs wrote, on the 24th of March, to Mr. Stuart Wortley, member for Yorkshire, requesting him to ascertain what proceeding Mr. Sumner intended to ground on those returns. Mr. Wortley in consequence put the question, and Mr. Sumner replied, that he would give him a public answer before Easter.

April 8th.—Mr. WORTLEY said in the House of Commons, that he wished to know if the member for Surrey, who had moved for certain papers relative to the laws on the subject of wool, intended to make any motion on the subject ?

Mr. SUMNER said,—He had moved for the accounts alluded to, on account of the agricultural interests, but, in consequence of the information he had received from a leading member of His Majesty’s Government, he did not intend to submit any motion to the House on the subject.

This reply had the effect of allaying the apprehensions of the manufacturers ; and the alarm which was excited by the motion for those returns was removed, under the persuasion that government were aware of the impolicy of making any alterations in the laws for regulating the woollen trade, and particularly of imposing any restriction or duty on the importation of the raw material. The manufacturers were justified in drawing this conclusion, from the opinion of one of His Majesty’s Ministers, expressed about three years before, when certain alterations in the laws respecting wool and woollens were under discussion before a Committee of the House of Commons, and when that minister decidedly opposed those alterations. It was also confirmed by the opposition given in Parliament to the agricultural petitions praying that duties should be imposed on the importation of every production of foreign countries that could be grown in this country. They were, however, mistaken, for on the 14th June, 1819, Mr. Vansittart, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, moved certain additions to the consolidated customs, and proposed a duty of sixpence per pound on the importation of foreign wool.

It appeared that ministers wanted to raise £1,400,000 by a tax on malt, and the landed aristocracy in Parliament refused their assent to that measure unless a tax was laid upon wool.

Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Sumner, Sir Charles Burrell, and Sir J. Sebright, were its principal supporters. A few petitions from London and its vicinity were presented against that tax; but according to the rules of Parliament, no petition could be presented against a tax after it was under discussion; and though petitions came from almost every manufacturing town in the kingdom, they were too late for presentation.

The bill came before a Committee of the whole House on Friday, 18th June, when an amendment was proposed by Lord Milton, that the tax on foreign wool should not be increased. He was supported by Lord Lascelles, Mr. Stuart Wortley, and others, but on a division there were—

For the tax	176
Against it	63

Majority..... 113

and the tax was in consequence imposed.

CHAPTER XII.

1820.

Reasons for the immediate Repeal of the Tax on Foreign Wool, by James Bischoff—Answer thereto, by Veritas—Reply, by Philopatria—Reflections on the Present State of Society, by a Carpet Manufacturer—Essay on the Corn Laws—Lord Sheffield's Address at Lewes Wool Fair—Answer thereto, by James Bischoff.

THE tax on the importation being thus established, and the measure having been brought into Parliament before it was possible for the manufacturers and the parties most interested in it to be heard, they were compelled to do all in their power to obtain a repeal of that tax as soon as possible, and the compiler of these Memoirs published

“ REASONS FOR THE IMMEDIATE REPEAL OF THE TAX ON FOREIGN WOOL. By JAMES BISCHOFF. 1820.”

It was dedicated to John Maitland, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of the Woollen Trade.

“ From the law which has lately been enacted imposing a duty of sixpence per pound on the importation of foreign wool, it appears to be the sense of Parliament that a tax on a raw material used in manufactures cannot injure a country, as, by falling upon the manufactured article, it is unconsciously paid by the consumer, and thereby a considerable sum is raised by the government, without being felt by the public. So far as that manufactured article is confined to the consumption of the country itself, and competition from foreigners is prevented, there is great plausibility in that mode of reasoning. When, however, a tax is laid upon a raw material used in manufactures which are exported to foreign countries, it is proper to ascertain what effect that will produce upon the several classes of inhabitants of the manufac-

turing country. It is, therefore, with the intention of pointing out some of these effects, that I write the following pages, anxious to show the fatal consequences which I apprehend must inevitably ensue; and before the industry, capital, and ingenuity of England are withdrawn from our shore, to seek encouragement and protection in foreign countries, to solicit the attention of the legislature and the public to a subject which does not appear to be sufficiently understood, but which, in my opinion, is of vital importance to the state.

“ The disputes which have for more than a century existed in this country, with regard to the laws which regulate wool and the woollen trade, are of much more importance than is generally imagined. Many suppose them to be framed more for private than public interest; that their repeal and alteration are urged by the growers of wool from personal considerations, and resisted by the manufacturers from the same motives; but I think it will not be difficult to show, that all the inhabitants of the island are deeply interested in this question.

“ Those who are favourable to the repeal of the wool laws, contend that if this raw material of native growth be allowed to be exported, the price of it to the grower will be considerably increased, and consequently, the value of his land improved; and that every impediment interposed to the free importation of foreign wool, renders the finer sorts of English wool more valuable, and increases, in a proportionate degree, the value of landed property.

“ The laws which our ancestors have made for the different branches of our manufacture, have for their object to prevent, on the one hand, the landed interest from obstructing the prosperity of the manufacturing and commercial, and on the other hand, the commercial and manufacturing from trespassing on the rights of the landed interest. They have, therefore, in the laws for the regulation of the wool and woollen trades, enacted that none of the wool grown in England shall be exported, and that no manufacturer or artificer shall leave the country. Here the protection of each is attended to: at the time they restrict the grower from supplying a foreign market, they compel the manufacturer to live upon his soil, and work up his raw material.

“ It appears most extraordinary that those who are anxious to permit the exportation of English wool, should also have been the great promoters of a tax on the importation of foreign wool; the argument in the one case is free trade, which is in direct opposition to their other measure.

“ And, indeed, free trade can never be brought into practice; it may amuse the philosopher or theoretical statesman, but there must be a strange revolution in men and governments before it can actually take place. If it were possible for England to remove all shackles from trade, the example would not be followed by other governments; but we ourselves have made no progress towards a free trade. Since the late wars, England, on the contrary, has set the example of restriction and prohibitory duties, and foreign governments have imposed duties and restrictions to encourage the trade and manufactures of their own subjects. If it were possible to remove all restrictions from trade, the effect on this country might be fatal to it. Floating capital is not confined to a particular country, but is removed to that where it is most protected and encouraged. England, from her insular situation, and from the nature of her government and laws, is peculiarly favourable to manufactures: she is not exposed to the immediate consequences of war on her own territories, nor liable to be overrun by hostile armies; buildings and machinery are safe; the man of property is no less protected by the wise and equal administration of her laws. But she has also disadvantages arising from her immense public debt, and from the heavy taxes, which enhance the price of labour and of every necessary of life. If, therefore, commerce were made free, England would find it difficult, with this immense load upon her, to contend with foreign manufacturers not so burthened. These taxes fall with great weight upon the commercial and manufacturing classes; the price which the farmer receives for his produce is so much greater than it was before the accumulation of the national debt, that, by that alone the consumer pays his proportion to the farmer, and though the latter pays the tax, he only pays what he receives from another. It is the interest of the agriculturist to give all the encouragement he can to the manufacturers, for the more they flourish the more able they will be to pay

for his produce. It is the interest of the farmer to supply the manufacturer with the raw materials upon which industry is exercised at a cheaper rate than other articles of produce, because, by the labour bestowed on that raw material, he maintains his family, and is enabled to purchase other articles. If the farmer lose a trifle in the value of his wool, he is amply repaid in the price he receives for his corn; and, however paradoxical it may appear, I believe it will be found true, that the greater the quantity of raw material imported, provided the demand for it when manufactured keeps pace with the quantity so introduced, the greater will be the advantage to the farmer; though the same description of raw material which he produces is depreciated, yet the labour which it brings to the country enhances the price of his other produce, and more particularly when that raw material is manufactured by itself, or mixed up with the raw material grown by the farmer and afterwards exported.

“It is the exportation trade which brings riches into the country, which takes off the surplus produce of our industry, gives life and activity to the system, and causes that happy feeling of prosperity ever attendant on a thriving state. Take away that demand, nerveless inactivity and despondency immediately take place, with that apparent decay and desolation ever accompanying a declining state. This can be explained by events which every day occur in private life. We see families who possessed large property and received considerable rents, by spending more than they receive, brought to distress; we see others, living exactly upon their incomes, become no richer, and as their numbers increase, their property becomes divided,—still, however, the family has the property within itself: we see another family, living upon less than its income, gradually becoming richer and more powerful; and we see a fourth, which, in addition to its rents, derives an income from trade by selling to its neighbours, becoming statesmen, opulent from their increased profits. So it is with the nation.

“If England owed the whole interest of her national debt to Englishmen—if the balance of trade with foreign countries was exactly equal, and if her imports and exports were alike, she must remain in the same state with respect to

wealth. The interest of her debt is received from one man of the same family and paid to another of the same family—the wealth of the family remains the same; but if interest be paid to foreigners, or the value of imports exceeds the value of exports, if she pays to foreign countries more than she receives from them, she must become poorer and less powerful. And, on the other hand, as the amount of her exports is greater than the amount of her imports, and as the value of those exports is the produce of the labour of the country, she becomes more wealthy, and of course more powerful. If, therefore, the farmer gives encouragement to the trader, by selling his raw material at a cheap rate, so as to enable him to export it manufactured, with the price of his labour and profit attached to it, he gives benefit to his country and increases the value of his property.

“ Let us now apply this maxim to the tax imposed. If the duty be laid on wool which is manufactured for the consumption of England, the consumer pays to the farmer and fundholder a little more money for his coat; but that money only changes pockets; it is still in England; the country is neither poorer nor richer for it; but if, by imposing a duty, one man is deprived of employment who manufactured cloth for a foreigner, it is an injury to the country, as it deprives him of so much money received from the foreigner for labour. The home trade is highly valuable; it increases the quantity of production, and one man gives employment and support to another; but it does not add to the available, or what may be fairly termed the spare and loose cash of the country, which is wanted in war, and with which the produce of other countries, now by habit become necessary, is purchased. It was the foreign exportation trade which brought so much wealth to the country in the late wars, and enabled England to send her army and navy all over the world, and to subsidize foreign powers. This could not have been done if our manufacturers had been employed solely for our own countrymen, and we had been deprived of all foreign trade. It is most absurd to say that the foreign trade is of little consequence; for without it, the power and prosperity of England would soon vanish.

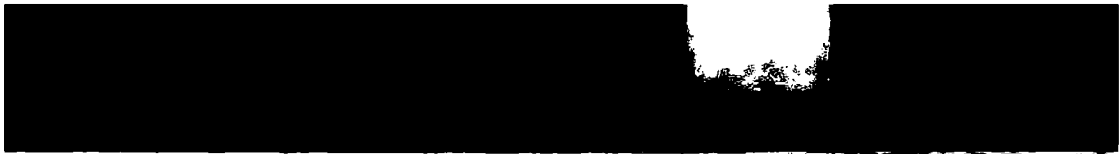
“ The farmer complains that he does not receive sufficient

encouragement for the improvement he has endeavoured to make in the quality of wool. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that even his expenses to attain this object, by the introduction of merino sheep, have been considerable, but that he has failed in his object, (and I believe there is not a man in the kingdom who will now assert that the improvement has been equal to the expense and trouble,) how does the argument apply to the daily occurrences among the manufacturers? If a man take great pains, and is at a heavy expense to make fine cloth, but does not succeed, if it is not well spun, made of good wool, or not durable, we should think it very strange, and a great stretch of power, if Parliament passed a law to compel people to purchase that coarse cloth, and to pay the same price for it which is demanded by the manufacturer of the finest and best cloth, in order to encourage experimentalists. So it is with the encouragers of merino sheep; they have been disappointed in their expectations; they cannot raise wool of quality equal to what is imported from Spain and Germany; and they cannot produce a sufficient quantity to supply our manufacturers. Is it, then, reasonable in them to say, You shall purchase of us and no one else,—because we have spent our money, and endeavoured to improve wool, we insist upon you buying it, and giving us the highest price for it? The plain answer to them ought to be the same that would be given to an unsuccessful experimental manufacturer,—If you cannot make your new article answer, go back to your old one, which formerly gave you a maintenance, and would do so again. Let the agriculturist return to the useful breeds of sheep, which were, and still would be, one great source of wealth to England, more valuable both by the quantity of wool they produce, and the weight of the carcase, and let us import wool, without laying upon it any restrictions; foreigners will encourage us to manufacture it, and take it back from us when manufactured, paying for our labour.

“It is calculated, and I believe it is on the average correct, that in manufacturing cloth from coarse wool, the labour with the profit is nearly equal to the cost of the wool: as, therefore, foreign wool, mixed with English wool, makes firmer and better cloth, it follows that the increased quantity im-







ported, upon which labour can be bestowed, not only gives more to the country, but causes in the same proportion a demand for English wool; and if the growers of that wool, by what they term encouraging or protecting duties on importation, prevent that quantity from coming in, which enables us to supply foreigners with manufactured goods, they defeat their own purpose, deprive the country of a lucrative and useful trade, and instead of increasing, decrease the value of their own produce. It should be recollected that the coarse wools which are imported, and which the English growers by this tax exclude, were before subject to the highest *ad valorem* charges; consequently, these were indirectly a bounty to the English farmer. The coarse wool is of the greatest bulk; the freight, in proportion to its value, is much greater on coarse than fine wool; the duty is the same per pound on all qualities; the charges of warehouse rent, cartage, and carriage from place to place, are on bulk, and fall heaviest on the coarsest wools; the duty, therefore, now imposed must entirely prohibit the importation of all coarse and middle wools; for it is evident that a tax of sixpence per pound on an article which now sells at twopence halfpenny per pound, or even on that sort which sells for two shillings per pound, must prevent its importation; and without foreign coarse wool, it will be impossible for the English manufacturers to cope with the foreigner. Since the restoration of peace, the rivalry betwixt them has been very great: many foreign merchants who imported woollen goods from England have withdrawn their orders, and sent them to the manufacturers of the Netherlands, Russia, France, and Austria, whose cloths were preferred to the English.

“ The cloths made solely of English wool are not so saleable, but, by the mixture of foreign wool with the English, the fabric is much improved. They are manufactured at lower prices, and the English merchant again hoped to bring his goods into competition with foreigners; but by this tax, the loss of our foreign trade in woollens will be inevitable.

The average value of woollen and worsted goods

exported from 1816 to 1819 inclusive, was.....£8,903,086

Of which the worsted goods were..... 1,729,445

Making the annual value for short wool £7,173,641

Annual value (brought forward)	£7,173,541
The average weight of wool im- ported	16,057,684 lbs.
Two-thirds for home consumption	10,705,122 „
Leaving	5,352,562 lbs.
Manufactured into goods for ex- portation, at 3s. 4d. per lb., the average price of foreign wool= £892,093 10s. — In- creased double by manufacture.....	£1,784,187
Leaves the value of woollens exported, manufac- tured from English wool.....	£5,389,454

“ English clothing wool averaged during the above period 2s. per pound, and this being increased double by manufac-
turing, how many pounds, at 4s. per pound, must be exported
to produce £5,389,454? Answer, 26,947,045 lbs.,—making
the exportation of goods manufactured from English clothing
wool annually in value, £5,389,454, and in weight,
26,947,045 lbs.

“ This calculation, founded on returns made to the House
of Commons, shows, that whilst this tax will be fatal to the
foreign trade in woollens, it will also be highly injurious to
the wool grower; for with this accumulation of wool upon his
hands, which is now exported in a manufactured state, how
will it be possible for the English farmer to get a better price
for his wool from the home market?

“ These returns also show the erroneous principles upon
which the advocates of the tax on wool have grounded their
calculation. The Earl of Sheffield, in his address to the
wool growers at Lewes fair, in 1818, says, ‘ The woollen
manufacture may be computed at £28,000,000, of which only
£1,000,000 ever went to foreign markets for direct con-
sumption; if, however, we include the British colonies, the
exportation will be £7,000,000.’

“ Probable effects which the tax on foreign wool will have
on the revenue of the country:—

“ It is understood that this tax is expected to increase the
revenue £300,000.

“ The average importation of wool for the last ten years

did not exceed 11,000,000 lbs., and the waste on that wool by washing, was one quarter; as all wool subject to this duty will now be washed abroad, that waste should be deducted. One-third of this wool was sold at and under 2s. 6d. per lb., and will be totally excluded by the tax.

“ In order to make the result more apparent, we will make the calculation on the average importation of wool for the last four years ending January, 1819, (which exceeds the average importation of the last ten years about 5,000,000 lbs.) deducting the sum raised by the old tax, the exportation duty paid on woollen goods during the same period, and the revenue raised by stamps to the Government by the exportation of woollen goods :—

Wool imported, 1816 to 1819, average weight...	16,057,684 lbs.
Wool under 2s. 6d. per lb., one-third.....	5,352,561 „
	<hr/>
	10,705,123 lbs.
Waste one-fourth.....	2,676,280 „
	<hr/>
	8,028,843 lbs.

Which, at sixpence per lb., will produce ... £200,721 0 0

From which deduct the late

duty on 16,057,684 lbs.,

at 7s. 11d. per cwt..... £56,751 9 8

Export duty on woollen manufactures in that period... .. 53,120 3 3

Stamps for policies of insurance, bills of lading, and charter parties, estimated at 4s. per £100; stamps on bills given in payment, estimated at 4s. per £100; postage and receipt stamps at 2s. per £100; total $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., on £8,000,000

40,000 0 0—149,871 12 11

Gain to revenue by the tax £50,849 7 1

“ The revenue would, upon the above calculation, gain £50,849 7s. 1d., but would lose more than that sum in other

duties. The importation of finer wool would also be considerably decreased by the exclusion of foreign trade, and must occasion considerable loss to the revenue; to which must be added the taxes on dye wares, oil, and many other articles now used in the woollen manufacture. Instead, therefore, of an increase, it will cause a heavy loss to the revenue. More will be lost by the decrease of duties on the exportation of woollen goods, and on articles used in the manufacture, than can be gained by the tax on wool. The revenue will not only suffer by the decreased quantity of these articles actually consumed in the woollen manufacture, but by the money raised on other articles used in machinery, buildings, and by roads, canals, and various other things which are dependant upon it. So true and appropriate is the saying of Lord Bacon, 'Taxes and imposts upon our merchants do seldom good to the King's revenue, for what he wins in the hundred he loseth in the shire.' "

This pamphlet gave rise to great discussion, particularly in the *Farmer's Journal*, a weekly publication in which all questions on agriculture were advocated in favour of the landed interest. The leading article of that journal contested the arguments brought forward, and several letters were afterwards inserted.

" ON THE DUTY ON FOREIGN WOOL.

" TO JAMES BISCHOFF, ESQ.

" Sir,—I am induced to address the following lines to you in reply to your 'Reasons for the Necessity of an immediate Repeal of the Wool Tax.' It is from no hostility to the commercial interests, that I dissent from the conclusions you have drawn; for however anxious I may be to see protection afforded to agriculture, I would not ask it at the expense of commerce and manufactures. It is on the contrary my decided opinion, that a revival of trade can be effected by no other means than general and sufficient protecting duties to all the produce of our soil. I shall in this address confine myself (as far as the subject will allow) solely to the wool duty, and endeavour to prove you have highly magnified any danger attending it. As you allow in your introduction that so far as the manufactured article is confined to the consumption of

the country itself, and all competition with foreigners is prevented, there is great plausibility in that mode of reasoning, I take it for granted you do not by any means calculate on any injury whatever to the home trade; and as the agriculturists have wisely given up all attempts to obtain the free exportation of English grown wool, (although supported by the high authority of one of the members for Yorkshire—Lord Milton) it is that portion of the foreign trade only which may be affected or injured by the existing duty, and my remarks shall be grounded on the calculations which you yourself have laid before the public. By way of simplifying the question, we will state the whole of the exports of woollens at one-fifth of our manufactures, and the proportion of goods exported, *manufactured of foreign wool*, at one-fourth of said exports (which corresponds as nearly as possible with your statement); therefore, if by the existing duty we should lose the whole of the export trade, which consists of *goods made of foreign wool*, we lose only *one-twentieth part* of our trade in woollens,—for you do not show, and I think you do not believe, that the export of goods made from British wool will be lessened. It is working upon the minds of people, (who are already too apt to be alarmed upon the subject) to say that the very existence of the woollen trade is at stake; yet all your arguments turn on the unavoidable loss to the country of the whole of our export trade.

“ From the supposed produce of the wool tax, you deduct the export duty paid on all woollens, a per centage for stamps, postages, &c. &c., and you estimate the loss to the country of 70,000 persons, who are to be thrown out of employment by this duty, although you acknowledge it is but one-fourth of the number who are employed in the manufacture of goods made of foreign wool for exportation. You do not tell us by what means you have ascertained that the export of goods made of foreign wool does consist of one-fourth of the whole exports. I am not prepared to contend it with you, but I may be allowed to doubt, whether you do not very much overrate it in such an estimate.—You say, that however paradoxical it may appear, you believe it will be found true, that the greater the quantity of the raw material imported, provided the demand for it when manufactured keeps pace

with the quantity so imported, the greater will be the advantage to the farmer, though the same description of raw material which he produces is depreciated, yet the labour which it brings to the country enhances the price of his other produce.—I answer, it *never can* whilst corn from all the world is admitted duty free ; and I ask you whether the demand for manufactures does keep pace with the importation of the raw material ? or whether we can fairly calculate that it would do so, even with the repeal of the present duty on wool ?—You make a comparison between the merino breeder, and a manufacturer who makes a bad piece of cloth, and you say, We should think it very strange, and a great stretch of power, if Parliament passed a law to compel people to buy that coarse ill-made cloth, and to pay the same price for it that a much better would cost ! Yet Parliament did *pass* such a law, and in my opinion very wisely too : they not only said, You shall pay as great a price, but, You shall not have the better cloth made at all ! Had it not been for that prohibition, our woollen manufactures would never have arrived at their present state of perfection, nor should we now be contending about the introduction of foreign wool, either with or without a duty. You endeavour to make it appear that the immense importation of foreign wool causes a corresponding demand for English wool, to manufacture and mix with it. It requires very little knowledge of the present state of the manufactures, and the quantity of fine English wool on hand, to deny this *in toto* : it may sound very well in theory, but has nothing to do with the present practice.

“ In reply to your remarks, on the impolicy of a duty of sixpence per pound on wool not worth more than twopence-halfpenny, I refer you to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who will gladly adopt any effective plan you can suggest, by which those wools could still be admitted duty free, preventing at the same time, (what I fear may be anticipated) a very general evasion of the tax.

“ Some advantages still possessed by our merchants and manufacturers, have I think altogether escaped you : the middle and fine cloths are said to be more saleable when manufactured of foreign wool mixed with English sorts, and we still maintain the important monopoly of our own growth.

Is it not also clear, that as long as we can continue customers to foreign countries for their produce, (whether luxuries, or as you say necessities) we almost ensure a sale of our manufactures; they are equally glad of us for customers as we are of them, and are quite as much afraid of losing our demand. Witness the reduction of the duty in Spain on wool exported. Try another duty of sixpence per pound here, and you will probably see a bounty offered there. That nation seems to see the necessity of increasing the produce of the soil, and this leads me to notice the parallel you have drawn between families possessed of large property and resources, and the present situation of England, saying the country as well as the family must be ruined by spending more than their income. In this I perfectly agree with you; but allow me to call your attention to a feature which has escaped you. Your simile is applicable to the money we are expending in foreign countries for that produce we have the means of obtaining upon our own soil, and it is in this respect we spend more than our income. It was the foreign exportation trade which brought so much wealth to the country in the late wars. Granted that it did bring wealth, immense wealth, to many private merchants; but was it not in a great measure owing to the then state of exchange, by which the nation lost what the individual gained? Foreign trade in all probability never can be to this country what it has been. Now the whole world is at peace, or nearly so, they will inevitably manufacture what they can for themselves: we have not the means of preventing this, whatever sacrifices agriculture may be called to make; therefore let that which is in our power claim our attention. Let us increase our home market, by supporting agriculture in every shape; and whilst there is an acre of uncultivated land in the kingdom, let not a man be sent to the Cape of Good Hope or any other country. The commercial and manufacturing class should recollect they are by far the smallest body. Colquhoun, whose writings were intended to support commerce rather than agriculture, estimates the income derived from foreign commerce at one-fifteenth part of the annual income of the nation; and surely any measure which materially benefits fourteen parts, should be supported, although the fifteenth should be partially injured.

"I will now conclude, hoping, with you, that our legislature will give not only the wool tax, but the agricultural question generally, their most serious, unbiased judgment. Let no party views induce either side to mistake, or endeavour to prove by abstract and metaphysical reasoning, what they themselves know is not the fact. Our Government has been already too much influenced by the representations, or rather misrepresentations of party. Let us have now no party but our country; the existence of England is perhaps at stake, certainly not the existence of the woollen trade, so long as England stands.
"VERITAS."

It would be tedious and uninteresting to insert the various letters which appeared under different names or initials weekly, in the *Farmer's Journal*, for the space of about six months; but the letters of Mr. John Clay, under the title of "PhilopatRIA," contain so much sound reasoning and good sense, that the following extract will not be unacceptable:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE FARMER'S JOURNAL.

"Your correspondent thinks, if it could be proved that the tax on wool affects the very existence of the woollen trade, it ought to set the question at rest for ever. To give practical proof of a thing which has not yet taken place is impossible; but if there be any proof in general principles, it is easy to show that it must destroy our manufacture of woollens for foreign markets. The effect of this upon Yorkshire may be easily anticipated, as the best-informed persons in that trade calculate that full two-thirds of all the goods manufactured in the West Riding are exported. It is a fact well known to every person who exports woollen goods to the continent of Europe, that when our wool advances to the price it did in 1818, the demand for our cloths immediately ceases, because they then become dearer than those of other countries. Your correspondent supposes, that as a large proportion of the goods we export are made from middle and low English wool, the tax can have little or no effect upon our foreign trade; but the grower of every sort of wool in England expects that its price will be raised equal to the amount of the duty; and if it should have that effect, coarse would be more affected than fine wool, as the tax is on weight, without

any reference to quality. If the duty does not raise the price of wool, it cannot benefit the English grower; and if it does raise the price, such is the competition which our manufacturers at present experience in every open market, that it does not require the spirit of prophecy to foretell, that it will be impossible for them to continue to export goods for foreign consumption. Many of the remarks made by your correspondent are very little in the spirit of an impartial observer, especially when he speaks of the great protection obtained by the woollen manufacturer, by the laws prohibiting the importation of foreign cloth. That it once benefited the manufacturers of this country, there can be no doubt: but the Yorkshire manufacturer of the present day reaps no benefit whatever from such prohibition; for there is not, that I am aware of, a single article which he manufactures for the home market, but what is also manufactured for exportation to foreign open markets, and consequently the price of it must be lower in this than any other country, by the amount of all the expenses attendant on its importation. That a tax on the import of foreign wool would not permanently raise the price of that of our own growth, I have no doubt; but it would be by destroying our manufactures for foreign markets, and consequently diminishing the demand for it, that the price would be kept down. It appears from Mr. Bischoff's pamphlet, that on the average of the last four years, we have annually imported sixteen millions of pounds of foreign wool; but we have in the same time annually exported, in the shape of cloth, thirty-two millions of pounds of British and foreign wool; we therefore export double the quantity of wool to that which we import; and if we pay foreigners nearly three millions per annum for wool, they pay us seven millions for cloth, leaving a balance of four millions in favour of this country. The manufacturers contend, that if by any artificial means the price of wool should be raised in this country, and which did not raise, but had a tendency to lower its price abroad, this thirty-two millions of pounds of wool, with all the labour, amounting to several millions of pounds in annual value attached, must cease to be exported. They consider it is not material whether the tax be sixpence per pound or twenty-pence per pound, as either would be fatal to their trade,—with

this difference only, that the first would be a lingering, the latter a sudden death.

"The manufacturers had not a fair opportunity given to them of stating their case before the tax was imposed, and I could point out a noble lord, (Lord Sheffield) who boasted, previous to its being brought forward, that a tax was to be imposed on the import of foreign wool, and it would be managed so that the woollen trade could not be heard against it, and which proved to be the fact. The arguments of Mr. Huskisson in the House of Commons in favour of the duty were, that as the wool-grower of this country was not allowed to export his wool, he ought to have the monopoly of the home market. This is certainly a strong argument, and would be irresistible if the wool which could be exported was the same as that which a tax on the importation of foreign wool would protect; but it is short wool only which is imported, and long combing wool alone would be exported, so that the duty is meant to favour a class of men who are not injured by prohibiting the export, and will injure a class that are not benefited by it, for it is the worsted manufacturer that the prohibition benefits, and the clothier that the tax will injure. That the growers of short wool are not injured by the law prohibiting its exportation, and consequently not entitled to protection on that account, is clear, from the following quotation from Lord Sheffield's Report at the Lewes wool fair in 1816:—

"It has been supposed that the repeal of the laws prohibiting the export of wool would amply compensate for the disadvantages arising from immense importation; but such repeal would do nothing for the growers of fine wool, and unless a protecting duty can be obtained on the import of foreign wool, it may be doubted whether it would not be more prejudicial than beneficial to the country. There would be no demand from abroad for our short fine wools, for such may be had cheaper in other countries. It is even now much more profitable to the farmer to grow long wool than short. There would be a demand from foreign countries for our long wool, for there is, as already stated, comparatively little such as ours grown in other countries, which, of course, would prejudice our manufacturers of that article, by enabling foreigners

to vie with us in that branch in which we find little competition at present.'

"Here Lord Sheffield not only shows that allowing the free exportation will not benefit the grower of fine wool, but he doubts whether it would not injure the country to allow the export of long wool. In both these opinions I entirely agree with his lordship; but if the growers of long wool think they are injured by the prohibition of its export, let them petition for its repeal; and if the manufacturers of that article cannot show that not only the growers are not injured, but the country at large is benefited, by the law as it at present stands, (both of which, I doubt not, they can prove,) let it be repealed. "PHILOPATRIA."

"A CARPET MANUFACTURER" published a pamphlet in 1820, showing the effect of the wool tax on that branch of trade; the following is extracted:—

CARPET MANUFACTORY.

Coarse Wool worked up in Twelve Months, during part of 1817 and 1818:—

English Combing Wool, 4,108 stones, of 16lb. per stone... £4844

Short Coarse Wool,..... 3,950 ditto Foreign.

5,513 ditto English.

9,463 stones, 6,195

Being.....13,571 stones,

the total weight of wool used costing... £11,039

Wages paid, and Articles used in working the above:—

Wages £3,020

Dye Wares 1,740

Coals 248

Soap 174

Oil 399

Carriage..... 350

Repairing Materials 229

6,160

£17,199

Exclusive of poor-rates, highways, rents, other taxes, commission, interest, postage, stamps, insurance, journeys; all which, whether he had profit or no profit, was left to the master

for payment, and must be beneficial to some persons and the state.

"The families who received the above-named wages, amounting to £3,020, consisted of 357 persons.

"If twenty such establishments were by the wool tax suppressed, or the work of forty reduced one-half, there would be an immediate direct incumbrance on the land of £60,400 to support them,—a greater amount, than, it is supposed and presumed, the tax on wool imported will produce; and there will be a falling off in the consumption of articles used amounting to £3,130, of which, such as dye-wares and oil pay considerable duties, and employ much domestic industry; and as whale oil is chiefly used in coarse woollen manufactures, would depress that fishery: this establishment consumed near seven tons annually."

The title of the above-mentioned pamphlet was "An Attempt to suggest some Reflections on the present State of Society and the Country."

An article was inserted in the *Leeds Intelligencer* in answer to the address of the Agricultural Association, and which was attributed to a highly respectable merchant of Halifax. The following, applicable to the tax on foreign wool, is extracted:—

"A most impolitic tax is imposed on cotton wool of 8 to 20 per cent. according to its value; likewise a tax, equally impolitic, on the importation of sheep's wool, of from 8 to 15 per cent., on the higher priced sorts, and from 20 to 90 and 100 per cent, or even 150 per cent. on the low sorts.

"These act as bounties on the manufacture of those articles in all the neighbouring or other states; also on their agricultural produce; and *vice versa*, as a depression on both in our own. These articles, when manufactured at home, and exported in a finished state, leave in this country for labour and expenses from 2 to 5, 10, 20, or 30 times the original cost of the imported raw material, which sum is chiefly expended in agricultural produce for the subsistence of the artisan.

"Let us suppose wool to the value of £1000 imported into this country, and exported again, with the addition of £2000 for labour and expenses: this last sum will be almost wholly

expended in agricultural produce, for the subsistence of the labourer and artisan; as such, corn, or other agricultural produce to that amount, may be said to be sent out of the kingdom along with the wool; and the greater the amount of the labour, and the expense bestowed on the manufactured article, the greater in proportion will be the quantity of corn, &c. exported with the imported raw material.

“ The duty paid on the importation of foreign wool being equal to from 50 to 150 per cent. on the low priced sorts, is a perfect prohibition to the importation of those qualities; and consequently gives to the agriculturist of foreign nations the produce of the labour, and the expenses of manufacturing it, which is chiefly expended in agricultural produce, to the great encouragement of the agriculture of those nations, and the great depression of our own; particularly when we take into consideration that the estimated annual exports of woollens from this country are from eight to ten millions in value,—one half or two-thirds of which amount must have been invested in the produce of our agricultural districts, and may be said to be exported with the wool. The same argument applies to cotton wool, and clearly shows the necessity of the agriculturists of this kingdom exerting themselves to obtain a repeal of every duty on these articles in particular, and on other raw materials.

“ Calculating that the duties on these two articles of wool and cotton, reduce our annual export of the manufactures of both of them the amount of ten millions, the loss of the annual sale (as it were for export) of corn and meat in the agricultural districts may be estimated at the annual amount of six millions, by which a few wool growers may possibly be benefited some thousands. It will be evident from these statements, that the export of goods manufactured of wool of the growth of this country, is the export of a small quantity of wool, with a large amount of corn and meat added to it; if, therefore, the price of the wool becomes so high in Great Britain, as to raise the articles manufactured of it to a higher price in the foreign market than they can be manufactured for, of equal quality, in that country, or than they can be purchased for from other nations, this price will act as a prohibition of the export of these articles from this country, to the loss by the agricul-

tourist of many times the advanced price of his wool, in the sale of his corn, beef, mutton, &c."

In July, 1820, the Earl of Sheffield made his annual report of the meeting at Lewes Wool Fair. The following is extracted:

"Since I had the honour of last addressing you, a most unexpected and unreasonable attempt, unsupported by anything like argument, has been made by the manufacturers to do away the protection which the ruinous state of agriculture had at length obtained from Parliament, and to procure the repeal even of the inadequate duty on the importation of foreign wool. Looking on the one hand to the situation of the British grower, on the other to the state of the trade in wool, the effect of the import duty on the manufacture, and the period of its commencement, it was with difficulty I could persuade myself that such an attempt would have been made. Though the duty had not taken place until the 10th of October in respect to Europe, and until the 5th of January last, in respect to the rest of the world,—and though the returns of the importations were only made to the latter date, and the duty had expired but for a single quarter, and that only for Europe,—when, consequently, no opportunity of a trial had been given, and when it was therefore impossible to form any conclusions with regard to the effect of the duty, yet the attempt was made. It was made, too, when it was generally supposed that three years' consumption of foreign wool was in the country, and from two to three years' growth of British wool on hand, so that the better sorts did not bear half the price they had done but a few years past. Notwithstanding the market was thus overstocked with the raw material of British growth, and the price in consequence thus beyond all precedent reduced, it was pretended that any duty on the import of foreign wool was inexpedient and ruinous; and the depression of the woollen manufacture was most falsely imputed to this cause. That this, however, was mere unfounded assertion, is obvious from the depression having existed previously to the imposition of the duty. It is also obvious, from *our* experience of the past, that the exportation of the manufacture is comparatively little influenced by the import of foreign wool. We appeal from speculation to fact.

“During the ten first years of the last century, when woollens were considered as our great staple manufacture, and in a very flourishing condition, the annual average importation of wool was 677,525 lbs, and the official value of woollens exported amounted to nearly three millions—£2,883,543. On the average of the eight years previously to the French revolution, the annual import of wool was 2,660,000 lbs, and the official value of woollens exported was £3,584,704. On the average of ten years, from 1808 to 1818, the annual import of wool has been 12,163,136 lbs, and the official value of woollens exported but £5,832,954. Last year the wool imported amounted to 16,190,343 lbs, and the official value of woollens exported to only £5,086,501.

“Thus it appears that the export of woollens was proportionally very little affected by the immensely increased importation of wool. Yet the petitioners for the repeal of the duty assert, that the export trade of woollens depends entirely upon the import of wool, which cannot be the case, for by far the greater part of the woollens exported were sent to markets within our own controul, in the different parts of the British empire; the increase was gradual, and, considering one hundred and twenty years are included, by no means great.

“Nor does it appear from the returns of cloth milled in the West Riding of Yorkshire, that the quantity of the manufacture has been at all increased for the last twenty-two years; but with this immense increase in the importation of wool, during the last six years, it has actually decreased, and is, I am sorry to say, notwithstanding the very low price of wool, and the great overflow in the market, still in a depressed state.

“In defiance of these facts, the petitioners go still further, and say their manufacture will be ruined, if the duty of 6d. per lb. should prevent the importation of the coarse wools of South America, Mogadore, &c.; yet none of these coarse wools were imported in any quantities, till the two last years. The price of these wools has been from 6d. to 8½d. per lb.; the quality, however, so extremely bad, that it rather resembled hair or wire than wool. It is on this account to be wished, that the admission of such wools should be prevented by a prohibitory duty, lest they should debase the

character of our manufactures, especially as we have a sufficient supply of British wool, and may have a still more abundant one if not discouraged. At the same time, their very low price will greatly prejudice the growth of our long wools, which have been so much improved, are greatly superior to those of other countries, and may always be supplied at moderate prices. It is unnecessary to prove that the manufacturers would not be injured by the non-admission of these low-priced foreign wools; they are indeed not at all requisite. They have only been imported, as I have before stated, in any considerable quantities, during the last two years; and by a reference to the state of the manufacture, before and since that period, it is impossible to discover any benefit produced by them. The present duty would very little affect the importation of the finer wools, which alone it can be supposed to want, more especially as Spain has taken off a duty on the exportation nearly equal to what we have laid on. Upon the whole it may be said, that the assertion of the ruin of the manufactures from the imposition of a duty on wool, is made in defiance of truth and common sense; for the present price of foreign wool, duty included, is only one half of what it was a few years ago,—and then our manufactures were flourishing. It cannot, therefore, be argued that the price of the raw material, as affected by the duty, is in the slightest degree the cause of the distress felt by the manufacturer: for it is a fact that the best Spanish wools are now twenty per cent. cheaper than when the duty was first laid.

“ Indeed, it may be generally asserted, that at the time the importation of foreign wool began to increase so greatly, the price of the manufacture was extravagantly raised to the consumer. The finest broad cloths, which within my recollection sold at 18s. per yard, have been lately sold at 36s. At the same time the export of woollens of the finest foreign wool was inconsiderable.

“ Under these considerations and circumstances, it is almost inconceivable that men should expose their want of information or consideration, or that any circumstances should bias them so far as to induce them to assert that the small duty on the import of foreign wool had ruined our manufacturers, and prevented them from undertaking to supply

clothing to the Russian army, when it appears that the importation was, in 1818 ten times, and last year upwards of six times, the amount of what it had been on the average previously to 1789. What makes the assertion still more ridiculous and absurd is, that not a lock of Spanish, Saxony, or of any fine imported wool, or even of the fine wools of this country, was ever worked up in the kind of cloth that was made for the Russian soldiers. It would have been more candid to have stated, that our Government had stipulated with Russia to pay certain sums of money in British woollens, which arrangement is now at an end, and that Russia has remitted part of the duties on woollens in favour of Prussia, which country now principally supplies that article at a cheaper rate.

“ The extravagant importation that has taken place of late has been attended with equal injury to the wool buyer and the seller. It has deranged the market ; the buyer had not anticipated that such immense quantities would have been imported, which have not only lowered the value, but have deprived him of the power of disposing of the British wool he had on hand. All this has evidently arisen from the insufficiency of the import duty, which should have been at least double its present amount,—a truth which the wool buyers themselves are ready, and indeed have had but too much reason to acknowledge.

“ It may be here observed, that the French (as well as the Spanish) have taken off the export duty, and have imposed a duty of ten per cent. on wool imported into France : they have also granted 12 per cent. bounty on cloths exported ; the consequence is, that wool, the produce of France, has advanced 12 per cent.

“ I must not dismiss the subject of wool without observing, that the opinion I always entertained of the practicability of growing in these islands wool as fine as that which is generally imported from Spain, is confirmed by further experience ; and I recommend to those who may doubt the fact, to inform themselves of the state of the merino flock of that very able and intelligent agriculturist, Mr. Western.

“ The preceding statement might have been thought unne-

cessary, if it had not evidently appeared that the attempt to procure the repeal of the duty on wool would be repeated. We should, therefore, be prepared to resist these unreasonable attacks, and by no means repose, under the idea that the question is set at rest. Nor is this the only point on which we should be on our guard. It seems incumbent on me to take advantage of the present occasion to notice a still more important and alarming attack that has been lately made on the landed interest,—that is, the owners and occupiers of land,—by the petitions, speeches, and publications of the merchants and others, respecting the restrictions on foreign commerce. Their applications to Parliament are a string of mere abstract propositions, contained in plausible, sophistical, though artfully constructed sentences, calculated to delude and mislead those who, through ignorance of such subjects, are incapable of competent discrimination. These petitions, and some accompanying speeches of extraordinary flippancy, denounce our corn, our navigation, and colonial laws, the revered and sacred principles of which have justly been considered, the one as our great preservative against famine, the other as the guardian of our naval prosperity. We are given to understand that those laws are permitted to exist through a kind of indulgence for certain silly prejudices; but it is more than insinuated that they must soon be relinquished.

“However disposed and zealous we may be to protect the commerce and manufactures of our country, we must not withhold our opinion, that it is now full time to relinquish the abominable system of sacrificing agriculture to suggestions of commercial advantage. It is rapidly on the decline, or rather its ruin is fast approaching. The capital of the country has been diverted into so many channels, apparently more promising or more profitable, that agriculture has not had its due share; and now that capital is still more reduced by the withdrawing of several millions of paper currency; the transferring such large amounts to foreign funds; the distrust also of country banks, prudently withholding their paper in the time of alarm; and, more especially, by the impoverishing state of the tenantry, who, in a great part of the kingdom, are on the brink of bankruptcy.”

The report of the Earl of Sheffield, from which the foregoing is extracted, was published in the *Farmer's Journal*, and afterwards in a pamphlet. The compiler of this work published in a similar manner the following

“OBSERVATIONS ON THE REPORT OF THE EARL OF SHEFFIELD, to the Meeting at LEWES WOOL FAIR, July 26th, 1820, so far as respects the Tax on Foreign Wool. By JAMES BISCHOFF.”

In submitting the following observations to the public, it may be proper to state the reasons which have rendered such a step advisable.

A tax of sixpence per lb. was laid in the year 1819 on the importation of foreign wool into this country, and upon representations being made by the manufacturers, showing its injurious tendency, they were led to understand that the tax was considered as an experiment, and if found to be injurious to the woollen manufacture, would be repealed. The manufacturers saw the serious consequences likely to result from it to themselves and to the empire at large, as it would affect themselves immediately by the diminution of our foreign trade, and the owners of land ultimately, by reducing the price of native wool; and they expected the measure would not be of long continuance.

The Earl of Sheffield made his annual report at the Lewes Wool Fair, soon after petitions had been presented to the House of Commons, and the motion for the repeal negatived by a small majority. His Lordship's Report was first published in the *Farmer's Journal*, and from thence copied into the London and country newspapers. Not, however, satisfied with that publicity, it was printed in a pamphlet, and widely distributed; and the substance of that report has also been given to the public in another pamphlet entitled “Remarks on the Merchants' Petition and Publications respecting Restrictions on Foreign Commerce, on the Depression of Agriculture, and also on the Petitions praying for the Repeal of the Duty on Foreign Wool.” When Lord Sheffield's Report made its appearance, it was answered by the compiler in the *Farmer's Journal*, and afterwards in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. As, however, the report of his lordship had been disseminated with so much industry, and no doubt must have had consider-

able weight on the minds of many honourable individuals, who have had to decide upon the motion for the repeal of the tax, he was induced to give his letter a more extended circulation.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE FARMER'S JOURNAL.

"London, 9th August, 1820.

SIR,—I beg to trouble you with a few observations on the Report made by the Earl of Sheffield at the Lewes Wool Fair, which has just been published in your journal.

"The official value of woollen goods exported, and the weight of wool imported, I presume your readers take for granted to be copied from the official returns made by the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports to the House of Commons. Having those returns now before me, which include the imports and exports to the 5th April, 1820, I have compared them with his lordship's statement, and observe the following difference between the reports :—

Lord Sheffield.	Parliamentary Returns.
Woollen goods exported... £6,088,501	£6,899,694
Wool imported .....lbs.16,190,343	lbs.13,736,158

"The Noble Earl is equally at variance in his statement respecting the late regulations in France.

"The tax on importation of wool in that country is not, as Lord Sheffield states, ten per cent., but is as follows :—

On fine washed wool, about.....	2½d. per lb.
On do. unwashed.....	1 "
On inferior washed	0¾ "
On do. unwashed	0¼ "
Bounty on exportation of fine cloth	4 "
Do. inferior do... ..	3 "

"The premises laid down by his Lordship being so erroneous, the arguments deduced from them must be equally in error.

"I have no documents before me, nor any means of ascertaining the correctness of Lord Sheffield's statement with respect to the importation of wool, and the exportation of woollen manufactures, in the ten first years of the last century; therefore cannot tell whether it is correct or not; but I conceive that, if correct, it has little to do with the present

question. His Lordship shows that within the last century the exportation of woollen manufactures has increased four millions, which I think sufficiently proves the glaring impolicy of so dangerous a measure being adopted as a tax on the importation of a raw material, from which the country has so long derived, and continues to derive so much benefit.

“ His Lordship also endeavours to show that it would be good policy to prevent the importation of coarse wool, because it debases the character of our manufactures. Upon that principle we ought to prevent the manufacturing of coarse wool grown in our own island. His Lordship surely does not mean that we are not to manufacture at home coarse articles of clothing for those who cannot afford to purchase fine; they may be unfit for the use of a British nobleman, but are well adapted for the countries to which they are sent, as well as for the peasantry here.

“ The assertion of the Noble Earl in 1818, that ‘ *of the whole export of our woollen manufactures, scarcely the amount of one million ever went to foreign markets for direct consumption,*’ had, I believe, great weight in Parliament when the tax was imposed: the division in the House of Commons upon that question, in 1819, was—

For the tax..... 176

Against it..... 63

Majority for the tax..... 113

“ When the motion for repeal was brought forward this year, the previous question was moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and yet the solid and powerful arguments of the honourable members who were in favour of the repeal, and the returns to Parliament, which proved that the exportation of woollens, exclusive of the value sent to British colonies and dependencies, was near seven millions, and not one million, made a material change in the division, which was—

For the previous question..... 202

Against it 128

Majority against repeal... 74

and I trust before another Session of Parliament is passed,

this hasty and impolitic tax will be repealed, the object of which is professedly to assist one part of the community at the expense of another, without allowing the manufacturer time or opportunity to show its ruinous and destructive effects. It cannot raise the price of wool or the value of land; foreign trade alone can take away, in a manufactured state, that portion of wool which is grown in England, and which England does not consume; and the public revenue will not be benefited if the country be deprived of duties that were formerly raised by manufacturing woollens for foreign markets. The effect of this tax operating as a bounty to foreign rivals, must inevitably remove British manufactures to foreign countries, and accelerate the loss of this beneficial means of enabling our population to consume and pay for the produce of the soil. The woollen manufacture is now the object of attention to almost every government in Europe, and is making very rapid advances. Mr. Jacob, in his late publication, gives much and most interesting information respecting the agriculture and manufactures of Germany, Flanders, and Prussia; and, after mentioning Von Thaer's establishment at Moegelin, states the following, speaking of the Prussian territories on the borders of the Rhine:—

“ ‘ The introduction of merinos has produced a wonderful change of late years: the males of the Moegelin flocks had been extensively spread; the wool of their large flocks was double its former value, and every year increasing in fineness. In consequence of this improvement in the wool, extensive manufactories were established, and more erecting; so that they expected shortly to supply the markets of Russia, and supplant the English clothiers; and already some of their cloths had found a market in China, by passing through Tartary. A great change in the commercial world may certainly be produced by the whole of the extensive and thinly peopled country of Poland being converted into sheep pastures, and those sheep producing wools of the finest quality. England has imported of late years about three millions of pounds of fine wool of Germany; much of the cloth that has been made from it has been sent to Russia and to other countries very accessible to the new manufactures of Kasan. The profits, freight, commission, and other expenses,

must amount to much more than any difference that can long exist between our machinery, the only point in which we are at present superior, and that which is establishing nearer the growth of wool, and the consumption of the cloth. Without indulging imaginary fears, and without being a great alarmist, it is not improper to calculate the possibility of a competition in Russia, in Turkey, and even in the East, which is not generally expected. There is undoubtedly a deficiency of capital in the countries between Germany and Russia; but capital, like water, if not as speedily, will at least as invariably, flow to the places where it is most productive.'

“There is one point in which I quite agree with the Earl of Sheffield, in lamenting the low price of wool, which is a certain indication of the depressed state of the manufacture. The question at issue is, whether it will be most improved by taxation,—which will prevent foreign wool coming in,—or by foreign trade, which will give employment to the country, and relieve the farmer of his present stock. It is, in my opinion, the latter alone which can give him relief. The tax compels foreigners to retain that wool which is necessary to mix up with English wool, in order to make cloth suitable to foreign markets, and manufacture it themselves; and this operates as a direct bounty over English manufacturers; and so long as the tax continues, the foreign trade will decrease, and the price of English short wool cannot permanently improve.

“Since the foregoing letter was written, some important occurrences have taken place, which clearly show the injurious consequences of the tax on foreign wool, and prove that the manufacturers have not been mistaken in the opinions and evidence they have given. The Government of Spain has prohibited the introduction, not only of woollen manufactures, but of many other manufactures which gave employment to the skill and industry of Great Britain; and they have, moreover, made another considerable reduction on the duty imposed in Spain on the exportation of their wool.

“By the first measure they compel the Spaniards to manufacture clothing for the supply of their own countrymen, and thereby deprive the English manufacturer of that great market for his commodities. It is probable this prohibition will restore the Spanish manufactures to that flourishing state

which they formerly enjoyed. During the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II., Spain not only carried on the woollen manufacture sufficient for the supply of their own wants, but had an extensive foreign trade in woollens. The decline of their manufactures, and with them the decline of Spain from the high rank which she held amongst the nations of Europe, may be traced to her conquests in America, the attention of her people and government having been withdrawn from her internal resources, and transferred to the mines of Peru, which for a time enriched Spain, but eventually enervated and destroyed her spirit and power.

"The other measure has still more serious consequences, and the Earl of Sheffield does not appear to understand the manner in which it will operate. The tax on the exportation of wool has been reduced in Spain, not to England exclusively, but to every other country; the wool, therefore, which formerly cost the exporter 3s. per pound, including that duty, is now exported at 2s. 6d. per pound (which is the reduction of duty alone) to every part of the world; it is still further reduced by the fallen price to the grower. The English manufacturer must therefore now pay 6d. per pound more than any other manufacturer on an article which costs 2s. 6d. per pound, instead of paying it on 3s. The advantage which this gives to the foreigner is, indeed, most unfortunately too apparent."

END OF VOLUME I.

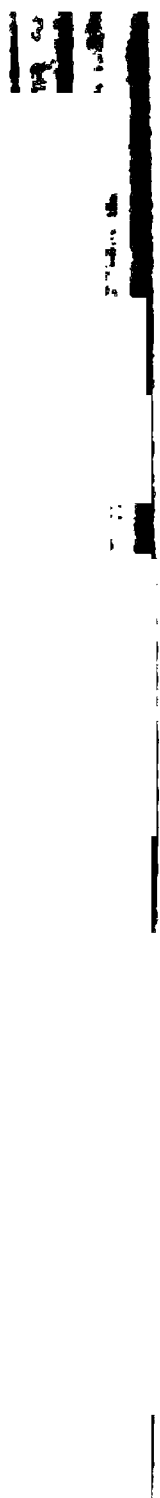




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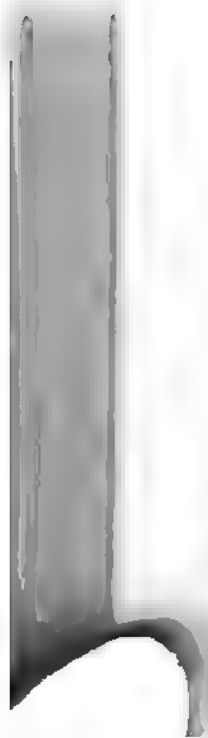


















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